

## A New Trade Bloc Moves Forward

### North American Pact Could Speed World's Split Into Economic Zones

By Lawrence Malkin  
*International Herald Tribune*  
NEW YORK — With its negotiating powers approved Friday by Congress, the Bush administration is driving toward the creation of a free trade zone with Mexico to reinforce its neighbor's new-found commitment to an open economy.

But as it does so, many analysts say, the administration is also provoking the question of whether the United States is accelerating the division of the industrial world into three major trading blocs, in Europe, Asia and North America.

Overriding vehement objections by organized labor, the Senate voted 59 to 36, Friday to complete congressional action on amending the administration with the "fast-track" trade negotiating authority it had requested. The House approved the request Thursday.

The vote grants a two-year extension of a self-denying provision that prevents Congress from picking apart any trade package to insert exemptions for constituents. Under the fast-track procedure, a deal negotiated by the government can only be approved or rejected by Congress on a yes-or-no vote.

The procedure is also crucial to unblocking the stalled Uruguay Round of world trade talks under the aegis of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, now in its fifth year.

But most analysts say the Uruguay Round is likely to move more slowly, because the trade talks with Mexico as a top priority for President George Bush.

Washington wants to eliminate all tariffs with Mexico and with Canada, creating a North American Free Trade Zone of

360 million people with \$6 trillion worth of production. Canada has already pledged to eliminate all tariffs on U.S. goods by 1998.

Eventually this Yukon-to-Yucatán bloc could attract other Latin American nations as they liberalize their economies, rivaling the European Commu-

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

nity on one side of the world, and Asian nations grouped around Japan on the other.

The trade zone is the brainchild of Mexico's president, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, a Harvard-educated economist who is ending decades of Mexican autarky by lowering tariffs, cutting government spending and deregulating industry.

But analysts say he wants to ensure that his policy, known as *la apertura*, outlasts the end of his presidential term next year, and one way to nail it down is to attract job-creating investment. In Canada the promise of free trade with the United States attracted \$4.3 billion in foreign investment last year, the first net inflow in 16 years.

Sergio González Gálvez, Mexican state secretary of foreign affairs, reported about \$4.5 billion in foreign investment last year, about half of which was money that had fled the country for Florida real estate or Miami banks. He estimated about \$70 billion in flight capital remains abroad "and we want to get it back."

Brian Fabbri, chief economist of Midland Montagu Economics, said that if free-market policy continues to attract new investment, the finances both of

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Rajiv Gandhi lighting the funeral pyre of his father, Rajiv, on Friday in New Delhi, assisted by his sister, Priyanka, a Hindu priest, and his mother, Sonia.

## At Gandhi's Funeral, Showering Petals and a Dirge

By Steve Coll and Edward Cody  
*Washington Post Service*

NEW DELHI — After a mournful, three-hour procession through relatively sparse crowds along the broad avenues of the Indian capital, the body of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was cremated Friday in the flames of a wooden pyre set ablaze by his teenage son.

Smoke from the fire rose in a black plume and disappeared over the Jammu River. For

some, it symbolized the fortunes of the Congress (I) Party political dynasty founded in 1947 by the first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, when India became independent and passed along to his daughter, Indira, and grandson Rajiv Gandhi, who was assassinated by a terrorist bomb Tuesday at age 46.

Almost seven years ago, Mr. Gandhi performed the same Hindu cremation ritual for his assassinated mother, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, at the same Shaikhisthal Park,

whose name means "where power rests."

Although Mr. Gandhi's reluctant, but quickly successful, entry into politics was hailed then as proof of his party's durability, the intervening years have seen a gradual decline for the centrist, secular Congress and raised questions about whether it can lead India's democracy into the next century.

The party's senior leadership, worried about the outcome of a volatile national election whose completion has been post-

poned for several weeks because of Mr. Gandhi's death, already is grappling with those questions.

Party legislators continued Friday to press Mr. Gandhi's Italian-born widow, Sonia, to accept the Congress presidency at least temporarily, despite her decision Thursday to reject the offer.

Senior Congress officials were expected to

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## The 100 Billion Mistake: Gorbachev Was Misunderstood

By Francis X. Clines  
*New York Times Service*

MOSCOW — The New York Times and some other publications misunderstood a hypothetical reference by President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and mistook only reported that he had made a request for \$100 billion in aid from the West.

The Soviet leader did use the figure "100 billion," but only to argue that the salvation of his country mattered as much as the Gulf crisis.

A full version of his remarks in a rambling answer during a joint conference Wednesday with Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy makes it clear that, while he was asking for Western aid — as well as for an invitation to attend a July

meeting of leaders of seven industrialized nations — he did not ask for a specific amount. His remarks were monitored and translated by the BBC.

The figure of "100 billion" came up when Mr. Gorbachev said: "If it is possible to find 100 billion for overcoming the problems of just one crisis, then in order to enable perestroika to succeed... the question of cooperation with the Soviet Union will be a game worth the candle."

At a news conference in Washington, President George Bush was asked about the news reports that Mr. Gorbachev had asked for \$100 billion. Noting he had no specific request, Mr. Bush remarked that "100 billion is a large piece of change."

Mr. Gorbachev was referring to the amount other nations had been willing to

spend in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, according to a press spokesman.

The New York Times and some other publications, on the basis of an initial, incomplete Foreign Ministry translation, reported that Mr. Gorbachev was publicly pleading his case for \$100 billion in aid from the nations at the July meeting.

Speaking at the news conference, Mr. Gorbachev stressed his wish to be heard at the seven-nation London meeting to emphasize the importance for the rest of the world that the critically troubled Soviet economy should rebound.

President Gorbachev's press office said Thursday that the reference to a "crisis" was to the Gulf conflict, not to the Soviet Union's economic decline.

The initial English-language version of

his remarks by the Soviet Foreign Ministry proved to be misleading.

Initially, the Foreign Ministry quoted the Soviet leader as having declared that cooperation with the Soviet Union for the benefit of perestroika — social, political and economic changes — would be worthwhile "if we are able to find \$100 billion to resolve the crisis."

In the text as translated by the BBC, he did not use the word "dollars" but simply said "100 billion."

Mr. Gorbachev's aides have been preparing for a White House visit next week to present his case in more detail for a hearing at the economic meeting.

At the news conference on Wednesday, Mr. Gorbachev was asked about

Soviet hopes to take part in the London meeting. Stressing that "we are not the only ones interested in the success of perestroika," he replied in part, according to the BBC translation:

"Whatever position you might be taking — the strategic one, the one with a military aspect, the economic side — all this is very serious. If it is possible to find 100 billion for overcoming the problems of just one crisis, then in order to enable perestroika to succeed and so that, as a result of the deep reforms, the country will turn towards the individual — if we mean the internal trends — and toward the world if we mean the external ones — the question of cooperation with the Soviet Union will be a game worth the candle, I think."

### Kiosk

#### Israel Is Warm To Shiite Offer

*Washington Post Service*

JERUSALEM — Israel said on Friday it welcomed reports of an offer by the leader of the Lebanese Hezbollah movement to release Israeli prisoners in exchange for Shites held in Israel, a bargain that could help win the release of Western hostages as well.

A spokesman for the Defense Ministry, Danny Navet, said the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir would be willing to negotiate the release of Shites if it received "an indication that Israeli prisoners are alive."

Israel is seeking up to seven soldiers and airmen missing from operations in Lebanon between 1982 and 1986. Most of those missing are believed to be dead, but the government says it believes several of the servicemen may be alive.

#### General News

200 million guns and counting: America's firearms surge a sharp 42 percent. Page 3.

#### Sports

Hal McRae, a former star player, will manage the Kansas City Royals. Page 17.

#### Business/Finance

Banks lowered interest rates by a half-point. Page 9.

#### Money Report

Market funds majority favor, gold, and East European funds. Pages 14-15.

#### Crossword

Page 6.

Dow Jones		The Dollar	
Up	13.57	DM	1.7035
Down	2.913.91	Pound	1.7355
		Yen	138.27
		FF	6.782

## Kurdish Fortunes Turn the Corner

By Clyde Haberman  
*New York Times Service*

CUKURCA, Turkey — They sell fresh eggs and tomatoes now on the mountain slopes where only recently the Kurds went hungry and counted their dead.

Fodders line the dusty paths, some wearing field jackets and pouches that they managed to escape from American soldiers. For a reasonable price — dollars and Iraqi dinars are accepted here — one can find cigarettes, packaged cookies, chocolates and, inescapable even on high peaks, Coca-Cola.

It may be going too far to say that a deluge of free-market economy has brought prosperity to Iraqi Kurds still hemmed down on this side of the crazy border between Turkey and Iraq.

By any standard, this last Turkish outpost with a significant concentration of refugees is a miserable place: Garbage is strewn everywhere, tents are scattered over

from malnutrition despite ample food stocks, and roads run from mud to choking dust and then back to mud, depending on the whims of the clouds.

But it is obvious that conditions have leaped forward by bounds that only a few weeks ago clung to these slopes like fog.

Food is now available, as are medical care and adequate water, at least until mountain springs dry up as summer approaches. By then, however, the military rescue operation that the United States and its allies set in motion five weeks ago should have almost down inside Turkey.

"No matter what measurement you use, the troops have been very successful," said Brigadier General Richard Foster, commander of the U.S. Army Special Forces unit working in the mountains. "We've gone from no food distribution, in a situation where the thugs and the

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## Driven to Aggression on the Road in Portugal

By Alan Riding  
*New York Times Service*

LISBON — The Portuguese have the reputation of being a quiet, law-abiding, and introverted people who even in times of political turmoil go out of their way to avoid using violence.

Once behind a steering wheel, they seem to change.

"Driving is Portugal's No. 1 public health problem," said Major Gabriel Mendes, the deputy commander of the country's Transit Brigade. "People behave very differently when they sit in the driver's seat from what they do in ordinary life."

A Lisbon psychologist said, "They're normally very well-mannered and conser-

vative, but all their repressed hostility and daring seems to come out behind the wheel."

In Lisbon, they sometimes career up and down the city's steep hills, immune to the presence of pedestrians or other drivers.

Outside the capital, their specialty often seems to be overtaking on blind corners, a problem aggravated by the fact that the country still has only 325 kilometers (200 miles) of modern highways.

The death rate on Portugal's roads is consistently the highest within the 12-nation European Community.

Measured in relation to total vehicles, it is four times higher than in Great Britain

and the Netherlands — and the United States.

Not everyone blames the drivers for Portugal's accident rate.

Although construction of a network of new highways began after Portugal joined the EC in 1986, its roads are still the narrowest and worst-kept in Western Europe.

Thanks to a recent burst of economic growth, the number of vehicles here has jumped by 25 percent in the last five years, further straining the road system. And among Portugal's 2 million vehicles are many cars and buses that in other countries would be considered too old to be safe.

But in more than 80 percent of the acci-

dents, Major Mendes insisted, the drivers are at fault.

"You have the car, the road, and the driver," he added, "but the driver is the only thinking one of the three. And there lies the problem. The cars and roads are getting better, but the driver is not."

Alcino Cruz, who runs the Moderna Driving School here, said this was unsurprising since the driving test had not changed since his grandfather's day.

"People learn in the city, going at 30 miles per hour and never getting into top gear," he said. "They get their license without ever having driven on a highway."

See DRIVE, Page 5

## Eritreans Capture Ethiopia's No. 2 City

### Israelis Launch Airlift of 16,000 Jews in Capital

By Clifford Krauss

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — Ethiopian separatist guerrillas on Friday captured Asmara, the second-largest city in the country, virtually completing a 31-year fight to conquer the Red Sea province of Eritrea, according to a senior Western diplomat.

The fall of Asmara came on a day that Israel began a huge two-day airlift of the remaining 16,000 Ethiopian Jews to Israel, culminating two weeks of intensive secret negotiations racing against an impending guerrilla attack on the capital, Addis Ababa.

The taking of Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, appeared to represent the total collapse of the Second Revolutionary Army, one of the two best government military units outside the capital.

It was one more in a series of defeats that the government has suffered in recent days as it prepares to meet with the three major guerrilla groups next week for peace talks in London sponsored by the Bush administration.

"Asmara is the jewel in the crown of Eritrea," said a Western diplomat, speaking of the city of wide boulevards, broad streets and agriculture-machinery factories left behind by the Italian occupation of the 1930s. "Its fall will give the Eritrean People's Liberation Front all the cards to play."

The Eritrean front is loosely aligned with the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, the guerrilla group that had advanced as close as 20 kilometers (12 miles) from the capital on Friday.

The diplomat said it appeared that up to 100,000 troops, or more than a quarter of the Ethiopian Army, might have surrendered after brief fighting around the outskirts of Asmara.

The government did not immediately confirm the capture of the city.

[A spokesman for the Eritrean People's Liberation Front told Reuters by telephone from London, "We have taken total control of Asmara."]

The diplomat said it appeared that Ethiopian troops gave up their fight after the rebels advanced to nearby highlands from where they were able to shell the Asmara airport. By damaging the runways, the guerrillas made it impossible for the soldiers to be resupplied.

Rebels to the east and west of Addis Ababa temporarily halted their advance on Friday after agreeing to U.S. appeals to allow the mass evacuation of 16,000 Ethiopian Jews to occur.

Senior Israeli diplomats credited a letter sent Thursday morning by President George Bush to the acting Ethiopian president, Lieutenant General Tesfaye Gebre Kidan, for breaking the deadlock on the Ethiopian Jews.

Mr. Bush wrote that the United States was willing to help mediate a settlement to the civil war, and only asked for the immediate emigration of the Jews in return.

In an attempt to hold the line against the rebel advance and negotiate something other than an unconditional surrender, General Tesfaye agreed, diplomats said.

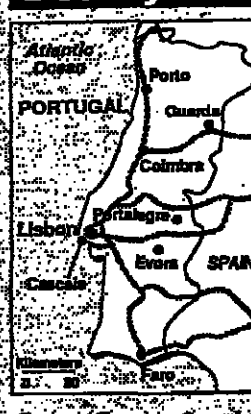
State Department and White House officials also pressed representatives of the rebels to halt their advance on the capital until the Jews were evacuated. The rebels agreed late Thursday.

The mass emigration of Jews from Ethiopia began with a clandestine airlift in 1984. More than 12,000 people were relocated until public disclosure of the operation brought Ethiopia under heavy criticism from its Arab neighbors, forcing Addis Ababa to halt the operation.

The flow of Jews out of Ethiopia resumed in 1989 at a rate of a few hundred a month after Israel and

See ETHIOPIA, Page 5

### Deadly Toll



Motor vehicle deaths in 1989	
Per million	Per million
Population	Population
Portugal	1,163
Greece	764
Spain	635
France	439
Denmark	376
Italy	285
Germany	265
Britain	255
United States	248
Netherlands	226

Sources: European Commission; U.S. National Safety Council



# Armenian Says Thaw With Turkey Is Key to Independence

By Meg Bortin  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Reversing decades of animosity, the president of Armenia said Friday that he was seeking "intensively good" relations with Turkey, Armenia's traditional foe.

The Armenian position marks a sharp policy swing for the small Soviet republic, which accuses Turkey of genocide against the Armenian people in 1915 and has historically looked to Moscow to prevent any recurrence.

Levon Ter-Petrosian, who has steered Armenia's independence drive since becoming the republic's first non-Communist president in August, said it would be impossible for his republic to break away from the Soviet Union five years from now, as he envisages, unless the Armenians were able to surmount historical animosity and normalize relations with the Turks.

"It is hard to imagine that Armenia could be fully independent without intensively good relations with its neighbors,"

he said in an interview. "This means Turkey, Iran, Georgia and Azerbaijan, although of course with Azerbaijan it is more difficult."

The distance between Armenia and sympathetic countries with large Armenian populations, notably France and the United States, he added, made the establishment of normal ties with Turkey and other neighbors "the imperative factor" in Armenia's quest for independence from the Soviet Union.

"Otherwise, we cannot create an independent state," he said.

Coming against the backdrop of the Soviet economic and political breakdown, the stance toward Turkey is part of a new Armenian realpolitik evident in the republic's dealings with both Moscow and foreign capitals.

Perhaps more than any of the other Soviet republics seeking independence, Armenia has made a point of playing by Moscow's rules. The republic plans to hold a secession referendum Sept. 21; the plan

was announced six months in advance, conforming with Soviet law.

After the vote, which is virtually certain to endorse a split, Armenia plans to respect the five-year transition period to independence called for by the Soviet Constitution — setting itself apart from the Baltic republics, which have demanded immediate separation.

Mr. Ter-Petrosian, on an official visit to Paris, also spoke with realism about his contacts with French leaders.

He pronounced himself "fully satisfied" with his talks with President François Mitterrand, who earlier this month incurred the wrath of Armenians in France by meeting with President Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Moscow at a time when Kremlin troops were engaged in operations against Armenian villages in Azerbaijan.

Instead of criticizing Mr. Mitterrand, the Armenian leader said he had been pleased in his talks in Paris to find "a willingness to take into account the new political realities in the Soviet Union," and

had received assurances of support if Armenia respected Soviet law in its independence struggle.

Mr. Ter-Petrosian, who also spoke at a news conference, reserved his harshest words for Mr. Gorbachev, who he accused of creating "political instability and economic anarchy," and for a power-sharing accord the Kremlin leader struck recently with all but six Soviet republics.

The pact, drafted by Mr. Gorbachev, Boris N. Yeltsin of the Russian Republic and eight other republic leaders last month, provides for special economic ties among those Soviet republics that join in a new political union, and harsher economic conditions for those that do not.

The Armenian leader denounced the pact as "extremely dangerous," saying: "It allows the nine republics to discriminate against the other six through a hypocritical formulation. The nine will benefit from special conditions. This means the others will be disadvantaged."

He linked the accord to the Soviet-Azer-

baijani operations against Armenian villages in early May, saying that Azerbaijan had declared after signing the document that it had to protect itself and asked for help from Moscow. According to the Armenians, at least 50 people were killed and 3,000 deported in the operations.

The latest violence, coupled with the economic pressure, clearly contributed to the erosion of confidence in Armenia's erstwhile Soviet protectors that Mr. Ter-Petrosian cited in explaining the republic's new openness to ties with Turkey.

Steps taken so far include a visit to Armenia by Turkey's ambassador to Moscow and an "unwritten accord" that neither side will seek to impose its political views on the other as they begin the process of forging economic links.

"Since we are neighboring peoples with common interests," Mr. Ter-Petrosian said, "we are disposed to start creating economic and trade relations."

"I am convinced," he added, that these economic relations will help resolve our political differences."

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Germany Outlines Plan to Shut Bases

BONN (Reuters) — Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg said Friday that the government planned to close one-third of its military bases in Western Germany by 1994 because the Cold War has ended. Most of the 213 facilities to be shut down, of a total 688, are near the former border with Eastern Germany.

The planned closures follow unification agreements last year under which the German armed forces are to be cut by about 30 percent to 370,000 troops. A total of 142 bases are to be kept in operation in Eastern Germany, Mr. Stoltenberg said, although he did not say how many installations had been left behind by the disbanded East German forces.

The cuts, which are to be finalized in July, drew criticism from the states along the former border, which face rising unemployment.

### U.S. Reports Snag in Arms Talks

BRUSSELS (Reuters) — The United States informed its NATO allies on Friday that a landmark arms treaty cutting conventional forces in Europe was still blocked despite U.S.-Soviet talks in Washington seeking to resolve the issues.

Alliance sources said James R. Woolsey, U.S. delegate to the 22-nation arms talks in Vienna, said that the negotiations had made some progress but failed to resolve a key issue.

The treaty, seen as the cornerstone of Europe's future, was signed last November in Paris by NATO and Warsaw Pact nations but has not yet been carried out because of complex issues. It provides for big cuts in tanks, artillery and other weaponry from the Atlantic to the Urals.

### After U.K., Dublin Outlaws Pit Bulls

DUBLIN (Reuters) — The Irish government, following a crackdown on dangerous fighting dogs in Britain, will order that all of Ireland's estimated 2,000 pit bull terriers be destroyed.

The environment minister, Padraig Flynn, said, "We are going to have a total ban on the ownership, breeding and import of pit bull terriers. That means that all of the animals here will have to be eliminated."

The British government launched its crackdown after several vicious attacks, including the mauling of a child by an American pit bull terrier.

### Yugoslavs Seize Slovenian Officer

BELGRADE (Reuters) — The Yugoslav Army seized, and later freed, a military officer in Slovenia on Friday as conflict deepened over the northern republic's plans to secede next month. It said the colonel had been responsible for the arrest of two soldiers.

Slovenia cut power and communications to bases on its territory after the army arrested Colonel Vladimir Milosevic, commander of eastern Slovenia's part-time reservists, and besieged a Slovenian training center. Slovenia's Defense Ministry said soldiers shot an electrical worker in the leg near the town of Ptuj as he disconnected power to an army base.

Slovenia has gradually upgraded its home guard into an army, bringing it into direct conflict with the federal Yugoslav People's Army. The republic's leaders say they will proclaim independence in June.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### 250,000 Spanish Workers Walk Out

MADRID (Reuters) — A quarter of a million Spanish workers, mostly state employees, staged a one-day strike for wage increases on Friday that caused chaos in air and rail transport. The government has refused to make pay deals exceeding its 5 percent inflation target for this year.

The national airline Iberia canceled 177 international and domestic flights and the state railroad was running a minimal rush-hour service.

### Railroad Strike Jams French Roads

PARIS (Reuters) — A strike by rail workers over pay and retirement issues halted most of France's trains on Friday, causing huge traffic jams as commuters drove to work in major cities.

The number of long-distance and commuter trains was cut to an average of one in four. The two main rail unions said they would resume work on Saturday. A third, independent union called on members to strike during the weekend.

Ferry services between Ostend, Belgium, and Dover, England, were disrupted Friday as workers at the Regie de Transport Maritimes ferry company went on strike.

The weekend and Warsaw officials signed an agreement for a pay increase Friday ending a walkout that idled the city's transport for four days. Buses and streetcars returned to service immediately.

The U.S. State Department, concerned over accidents and the lack of basic services in Kuwait, has warned Americans to "exercise caution" when traveling there.

"Ministère France," a theme park with scale models of the French Alps, rivers, roads, chalets, the Eiffel Tower and other monuments, is to open Saturday in Elancourt, west of Paris.

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or write to: Rue des Caroubiers 25, CH-1227 Carouge/Geneva.



## South Korea Opposition Vows To Resist New Prime Minister

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches  
SEOUL — Angered and disappointed by the choice of a conservative as the new prime minister, the main opposition party said Friday it would wage an "all-out struggle" against the government.

The statement by the New Democratic Party was its strongest since the disorders started with the police killing of a student protester a month ago.

It appeared to foreshadow a deepening of the worst crisis President Roh Tae Woo has faced since he took office in 1988.

The New Democrats said that President Roh's selection of Chung Mong Shik, who has the reputation of a hard-liner, was "an act of betrayal and challenge to the people who want an end to repressive rule."

"An all-out struggle will be launched against the Roh regime and the ruling group, which is ignoring popular wishes and trying to keep suppressive rule," it added.

The presidential spokesman, Lee Soo Jung, said Mr. Chung was chosen to "assuage the people's concerns over a recent series of demonstrations." He said President Roh "set a high value on Chung's abilities shown during his tenure as Education Minister."

In the education post from 1988 to 1990, Mr. Chung directed a campaign against an outlawed teachers' union. More than 1,500 teachers were dismissed and hundreds were jailed.

Mr. Chung cut short his tour of African nations, as a special envoy, and he is scheduled to arrive in Seoul on Saturday. He met South Korean reporters in Paris on Friday and said he would do his best to stop the turmoil.

"What we need now is calm down and rebuild stability through dialogue," the Yonhap News Agency quoted him as having said. It added that he did not consider himself a hard-liner.

The appointment was aimed at reassuring middle-class Koreans weary of the protests, and it suggested that Mr. Roh did not intend to give in to opposition and student demands for sweeping relaxations.

Militant groups called for nationwide protests Saturday against the Roh government. Two smaller opposition parties and the National Dissident Alliance pledged to renew their fight.

Mr. Roh has dismissed the cabinet minister in charge of the police and five riot policemen have been charged in the killing of the student. Ro Jai Bong resigned as prime minister on Wednesday.

But the critics said it was not enough. Protesters demanded that Mr. Roh dismiss the entire cabinet, arrest senior officials in connection with the student's slaying, release all political prisoners and order broad economic and political changes.

A wave of self-immolation, strikes and anti-government protests has affected more than 75 cities. Nine people have set themselves on fire and six have died. Hundreds of protesters and police have been injured.

The police said Friday that more than 3,000 riot policemen and civilians were injured in a month of anti-government protests by more than 700,000 people nationwide. Police figures are generally conservative.

On Thursday, President Roh ordered that 74 political prisoners released and charges of pro-Communist activity be dropped against 151 others.

Critics charge that the government holds more than 1,000 political prisoners and said the releases were only a token step. The police have begun a search for 150 dissident and student leaders on charges of instigating unrest.

(AP, Reuters)



**LAVA DIKE** — Local residents near Nagasaki, Japan, preparing sandbags to protect the Mizumashi River below Mount Unzen from a possible gush of volcanic debris. New lava spilled over the crater, smoking in background, on Friday.

## Bangladesh Seeks World Aid

Wanted: \$2.4 Billion for Development Plans and Food

DHAKA, Bangladesh — Bangladesh will seek \$2.4 billion from aid donors next week for development projects and imports in the coming fiscal year, Finance Minister Saifur Rahman said Friday.

"We shall also ask for a separate fund to rebuild our cyclone-battered economy," he said at a news conference before leaving for a Bangladesh aid consortium meeting in Paris, which begins Wednesday.

"There are indications that the donors will respond favorably to Bangladesh's annual aid requirement," Mr. Rahman said.

More than 138,000 people were killed when a cyclone that caused six-meter (20-foot) tidal waves devastated the coast and offshore islands on April 30, according to government figures.

Mr. Rahman refused to estimate economic losses caused by the cyclone but the official Bangladesh News Agency quoted him earlier as saying it could be about \$3 billion.

Mr. Rahman said a full estimate of the losses would be known only after a task force of United Nations and Bangladesh officials completed its assessment in three weeks.

Soon after the cyclone, Bangladesh appealed for \$1.4 billion from rich nations and donor agencies for

immediate relief and to refurbish the cyclone-damaged economy. But Mr. Rahman said Friday that there had not been much response so far from the international community.

Only \$365 million has been promised as relief for the cyclone victims, according to official figures.

"Probably the donors would not come in a big way until a full assessment of damage was made," Mr. Rahman said.

He said he would try to convince the donors in Paris that Bangladesh's democratically elected government would try harder to alleviate poverty and overcome

administrative mismanagement, a legacy of past military-dominated governments.

"There is a tremendous goodwill for this government," Mr. Rahman said. "Despite an apparent donors' aid fatigue and changed circumstances in Eastern Europe, Bangladesh is hopeful of receiving support from its development partners."

He said Bangladesh would ask for \$1.55 billion as project aid, \$520 million as commodity aid and \$330 million as food aid for the fiscal year starting in July.

Spending for the fiscal year that ends in June is likely to total \$1.05 billion for projects, \$406 million for commodities and \$267 million for food.

## Labor Increases Lead in U.K. Poll

United Press International

LONDON — The opposition Labor Party has widened its lead over the Conservative Party to eight percentage points, the largest margin since John Major became prime minister in November, according to a poll published Friday.

In the nationwide poll of 1,643 voters, conducted for the newspaper The Independent and the BBC, 44 percent supported Labor and 36 percent backed Mr. Major's Con-

servative Party. The Liberal Democrats were third, with 15 percent.

The figures represented a five-point drop for the Conservatives, a three-point increase for Labor and a two-point rise for the Liberal Democrats.

Forecasts based on the results indicated that the Conservatives might fall from power if general elections were called for July, with Labor gaining a majority of 41 seats in the House of Commons.

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# As India Mourns, Passions Are Muted

By Steven R. Weisman  
New York Times Service

**NEW DELHI** — Terror and rioting in northern India scarred the somber cremation ceremony of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, assassinated seven years ago, and many in this tumultuous nation expected the same awful scenes to be repeated after Mrs. Gandhi's son, Rajiv, was struck down Tuesday.

But on Friday the remains of Mr. Gandhi, the former prime minister who was killed in a bomb explosion near Madras while campaigning for a return to power, were consigned to flames in a sweltering moment of grief that nonetheless occurred in something approximating peace and stability.

Indian spokesmen were quick to assert that the nation, the world's most populous democracy, was once again showing its maturity by handling the trauma of assassination without collapsing.

But the relative calm was also seen as a function of the uncertainty over who murdered Mr. Gandhi, which diffused public anger. Security forces were deployed more swiftly this time, and the atmosphere seemed testimony to the fact that Mr. Gandhi did not raise emotions as his mother did.

"When we heard Rajiv was killed, everyone was apprehensive," said Dr. D.S. Dua, a Sikh pathologist at a New Delhi hospital. "People's reasoning goes to the dogs at moments like this, and everyone was nervous about going out into the street. But it looks now like things are safe."

Sikhs suffered reprisals in 1984 after the killing of Mrs. Gandhi by two of her Sikh security guards.

Government officials say they suspect that the bombing that killed Mr. Gandhi was the work of a Tamil separatist group from Sri Lanka.

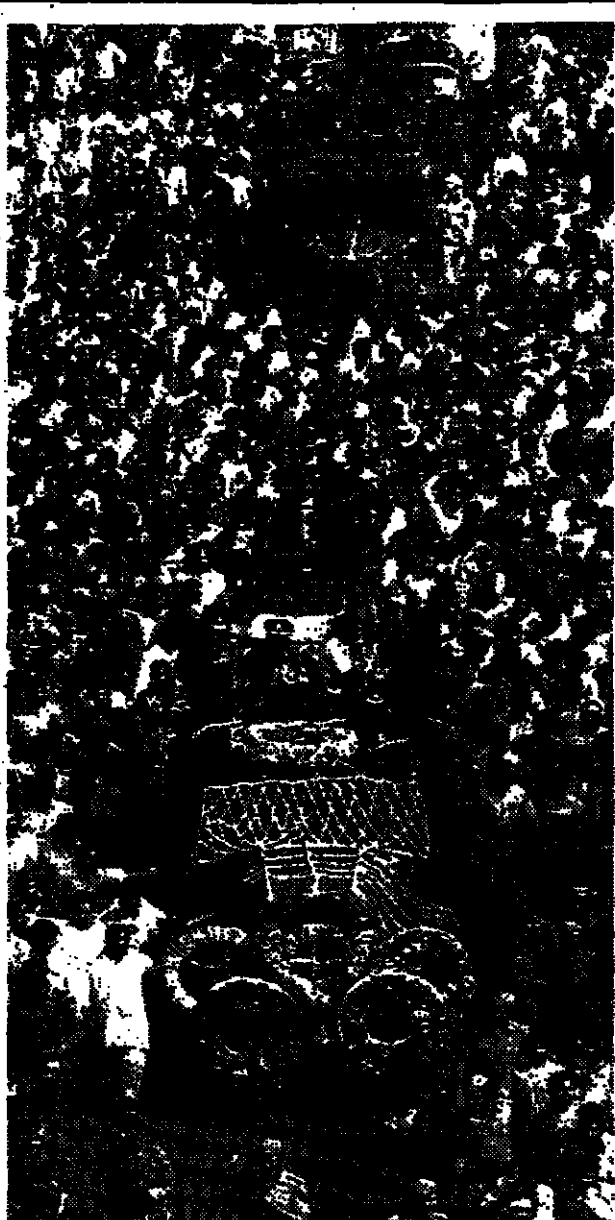
Tamil guerrillas seeking an independent state in Sri Lanka have long used south India as a base of operations. They have also not forgone Mr. Gandhi for his decision as prime minister to send Indian troops in 1987 to help crush their rebellion.

But Indian Tamils are generally not sympathetic to the goal of a Tamil state in Sri Lanka, and Tamils living throughout India do not have a distinct religious identity that would single them out as targets for reprisals.

Separatist movements have led to bloodshed in the Punjab in the north, in Assam in the northeast and in the Muslim-dominated northern state of Jammu and Kashmir, where army troops are maintaining an uneasy vigilance against secessionists.

But none of these movements has stirred quite the anger that was felt among Sikhs after Mrs. Gandhi used army troops to rout Sikh militants from the religion's holiest shrine, the Golden Temple of Amritsar, in June of 1984. After the Golden Temple raid, known as "Operation Blue Star," many said her life was doomed.

This week, some workers in the Congress (I) Party have tried to stir passions by blaming the climate of violence on rival political parties, particularly the parties that speak for Tamil nationalism and militant Hindus. But these criticisms have not discernibly swayed people in the streets.



While the crowds in New Delhi were sparse, a mass of people thronged the funeral procession as it neared its destination.

## GANDHI: During Funeral Procession in New Delhi, Showering Petals and a Dirge

(Continued from page 1)

meet Saturday to begin discussions about how to replace Mr. Gandhi, who governed the party autocratically since his mother's death in 1984. The party is eager to avoid a raucous succession battle before the election is completed, but may have difficulty choosing a charismatic interim leader if Sonia Gandhi sticks to her decision not to enter the political arena, Congress officials said.

Mrs. Gandhi spent Friday afternoon trailing her husband's body, which was draped in the Indian flag and drawn on a gun carriage through hot, dusty and strikingly desolate streets.

On a brick platform at the park, she stood weeping with her arm draped around her daughter, Priyanka, while her son, Rahul, circled seven times around his father's body with a burning torch and then reached into the pyre to set it alight.

Bugles from a military band sounded "retreat" and soldiers fired three volleys in the air to give

the former prime minister the full honors of a state funeral.

Watching in chairs arranged on the red clay ground were Vice President Dan Quayle, Prince Charles, the Pakistani Liberation Organization leader, Yasser Arafat, President Najibullah of Afghanistan, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan and dozens of other foreign leaders.

After arriving at New Delhi's Indira Gandhi International Airport on Friday morning, Mr. Quayle called Mr. Gandhi's assassination "an outrage."

"The enemies of democracy of struck once again, but they cannot prevail," he said.

The former prime minister's last journey began at 1:15 P.M. at Teen Murti House, the Nehru family residence, where his body had lain since being flown to New Delhi on the morning after he was killed at an electoral rally near Madras.

As an air force band played a dirge, the remains were hoisted aboard a platform erected atop an artillery piece that was towed by an

army truck manned by officers from the army, navy and air force.

"Rajiv Gandhi lives," chanted a group that surrounded the truck. The sacrifice of Indira and Rajiv will not be lost. India will remember.

A shower of rose petals fell from a white Alouette helicopter overhead as the procession moved out on a solemn pace into the hot afternoon sun.

Sonia Gandhi and her children, prominent Congress politicians, senior military officers, film stars and friends of the family followed in cars as the procession moved toward India Gate in the heart of New Delhi's government complex.

Thousands of Indians lined the broad avenues, many chanting in Mr. Gandhi's memory. But the crowds were relatively small. Last month, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party packed hundreds of thousands of supporters onto the mall where Mr. Gandhi's procession passed Friday.

But this time, the mall was virtually empty, with a single row of onlookers at the barricades.

As the procession moved into more populated neighborhoods, the numbers of onlookers swelled. Although the police tried to drive them back with batons, young men filled up the narrow streets and ran alongside the vehicles.

Army and paramilitary units enforcing security around the capital, including 10 companies of elite Black Cat commandos, kept disorder and violence to a minimum.

Elsewhere in the country, scattered clashes between political workers and several self-immolations by aggrieved Congress supporters disrupted what was a generally peaceful day of official national mourning.

At least 11 people were reported killed, but there were no indications of large-scale civil unrest, as had been widely feared.

The sporadic violence was worst in the southern state of Tamil Nadu, where Mr. Gandhi was killed by an unidentified woman who committed suicide by detonating a bomb strapped to her body, according to Indian investigators.

## KURDS: Relief Effort Improves the Plight of Once-Desperate Refugees

(Continued from page 1)

meantless guys in camp got the food, to an equitable position."

Cukurca's population is officially put at 70,000, compared with an estimated peak of 120,000 in mid-April following the Kurds' flight into Turkey after their failed rebellion against the forces of President Saddam Hussein.

The other large encampments in the Turkish mountains have been closed, with refugees brought home or to more benign settlements in the valleys of northern Iraq.

Army officers say it is simply a matter of time, perhaps two weeks, before trucks can carry everyone in Cukurca back to Iraq. On this score, the refugees have received a taste of the seamy side of a free-market.

Some Turkish and Iraqi truck drivers hired to do the hauling by the International Organization for Migration have mastered the art of

what some soldiers call "double dipping."

From the migration group they receive a flat fee equivalent to about \$200 for each truckload of refugees taken to Iraq. The Kurds are supposed to pay nothing. But some drivers make families pay as well, thereby collecting twice for the same job. Now and again, fights break out over who gets on which truck first.

Military leaders say they are delighted at the speed with which they have taken the Kurds down from the mountains.

"Basically turning the situation around in just 30 days is incredible," said Colonel James L. Jones Jr., commander of the Marines assigned to the relief operation. "I think only the United States could have done all this on such a magnitude."

Still, tens of thousands of refugees who have left Cukurca and other outposts have not been head-

ed home, but rather to new camps in the Iraqi valleys.

Most come from D'hoq, the provincial capital that lies outside the allied-protected zone in northern Iraq. They say they will not go back unless they can feel safe there. So unless this bottleneck can be unplugged, officials say, allied troops could be forced to remain in Iraq even if they have finished up their work in Turkey.

The United States has pinned its hopes on an agreement with Iraq under which all Iraqi soldiers and secret police officers have withdrawn from D'hoq. Although some U.S. forces were moving in, plans call mainly for a contingent of several dozen military and civilian engineers and other technical experts who are supposed to help the city return to normal.

Whether this arrangement will be enough to calm the fears of the Kurds may not be clear for several more days.

Reservations were obvious among several groups of refugees who had left Cukurca and gone to temporary camps outside Sarsang, Iraq. They said they had heard about the agreement but would first have to send people into D'hoq as scouts to report on whether they should return.

One problem for allied commanders is sorting out the degree to which the Kurds are genuinely afraid of going back, or instead are calculating politically that by keeping foreign troops here as long as possible they improve their bargaining position in autonomy talks with the Iraqi government.

There have even been instances in which Kurdish guerrillas set up roadblocks to stop other Kurds from returning to D'hoq.

"We'd like American forces to stay in our land forever," said Amar Abdi, a tribal elder. The worry for U.S. commanders is that he may well mean it.

## TRADE: Step Forward for a Yukon-to-Yucatán Bloc

(Continued from page 1)

Mexico and of its U.S. and European creditor banks will benefit. The value of Mexico's foreign debt will rise, and the banks that have been stuck with the debt for almost a decade may start lending to it again.

"This is the best Mexican government we are likely to get, and we have to help Salinas's party," said Paul Krugman, economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

But at the same time, Mr. Krugman and others fear the pact may help divide the industrial world into three trading blocs, a drift that he warned is already under way because of Europe's delaying tactics in the GATT Uruguay round.

"Now the U.S. commitment in

terms of energy and concern to North America free trade means it is more likely to play hardball in GATT. It has to make you less optimistic about the world trading system," he said.

Defenders of that system argue this will not happen precisely because the United States stands as a stronger guarantor of open borders than international economic organizations such as GATT.

"Foreign investors will believe Mexico really means business by lowering tariffs when they see American companies putting their money there, because they know that if Mexico changes course and nationalizes them, Washington is sure to retaliate in a way that GATT cannot," said Robert Lawrence of the Brookings Institution in Washington.

But Mr. Fabbi forecast that a free market would divert trade from elsewhere. Canada and Mexico, which now account for 32 percent of U.S. foreign trade, would take more than 40 percent of it.

"Southeast Asia will lose, because we will substitute cheap labor here for cheap labor there," he said. "Surely a global free trade zone

would be economically more constructive."

This debate was reflected in congressional arguments. Representative Bill Richardson, a New Mexico Democrat, argued: "The world is moving into trading blocs — Europe in '92, the Pacific Rim. We need to do the same."

Congress was split more on regional than party lines, and was focused mainly on the potential loss of American jobs. The Bush administration picked up support from southwestern and border state legislators who augmented the traditional free-trade coalition of exporting coastal states. Southwestern legislators hoped that increased investment would help stop the flow of unemployed Mexican workers into their states.

Legislators from manufacturing states joined with farm and textile state legislators to oppose the administration. They supported a campaign by organized labor and environmentalists warning that runaway U.S. factories in Mexico will operate more cheaply because of fewer pollution and safety controls. They also warned that U.S. jobs will be lost.

## DRIVE: Portugal's Toll

(Continued from page 1)

are unprepared for the surprises of fast driving or highways clogged with heavy trucks.

"That's why we give two simultaneous courses," he said, "one to teach learners how to pass their test and the other to teach them how to drive."

But the Transit Brigade's chief of operations, Major José Francisco Barata, blamed excessive speed, drunken driving, overtaking illegally, and ignoring rules of priority. "I don't know if it's a desire to be adventurous," he said, "but people do so many stupid things that it's amazing there aren't more accidents."

Papaps nowhere is the price of bad driving higher than along the Marginal, the 35-kilometer stretch of road that runs along the coast between Lisbon and Cascais. The Portuguese army chief of staff, General Fernando Miguel, was just one of the latest scores of fatalities annually along that road. There is even an Association of Relatives of Victims of the Marginal.

A winding four-lane highway, it has no divider to prevent drivers from overtaking or swinging out of their lanes around corners and colliding head-on with other cars. In the winter, spray from breaking waves can blind drivers for 10 to 15 seconds. And at night, the road's surface is usually damp.

But perhaps the real problem is that the Marginal runs through an area with many restaurants and nightclubs, so drunken drivers are common. So what can be done? Major Barata said that education was the only solution, but Major Mendes had a more practical suggestion. "I avoid the Marginal as much as possible," he said.

Foreigners would agree: A favorite going-away present for tourists is a T-shirt that reads, "I survived the Marginal."

## ETHIOPIA: Rebels Win Asmara

(Continued from page 1)

Addis Ababa resumed diplomatic relations following a 16-year hiatus.

Historically, there has been little or no anti-Semitism displayed in Ethiopia, but recent years have been difficult for the community. When the Marxist government initiated policies against religion in the early 1980s, the observance of Jewish holidays was officially prohibited.

American and Israeli diplomats expressed concern that the Jews would be in danger if they were not allowed to emigrate. Many Ethiopians have resented the fact that the Jews in recent months have received special privileges, includ-

ing allowances, medical care and education, from the Israeli Embassy and American Jewish philanthropic groups.

President Robert Mengistu of Zimbabwe said Friday that the former Ethiopian leader, Mengistu Haile Mariam, would be granted political asylum in Zimbabwe, where he took refuge after fleeing Addis Ababa earlier this week.

Speaking to reporters in Paris after talks with President François Mitterrand, Mr. Mengistu was asked if Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu would be granted political asylum. He replied: "Oh, naturally. Why not?"

## Moldavia Changes Name

Agence France-Press

MOSCOW — The Moldavian Republic has dropped the words "Soviet Socialist" from its name after a vote in parliament.

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# Annenberg Collection: An Era Ends

## One Art Lover's Statement at the Met

NEW YORK—Every so often, a major collection built up by one man over a lifetime is displayed in an institution and raises the question of what collecting is all about.

A few years ago it was the late Isidore Woodner's old master drawings.

### SOURIN MELIKIAN

touring Europe, America and Japan. Beginning June 4 and running until Oct. 13, it is the Impressionist and Modern Master paintings donated by Walter H. Annenberg to the Metropolitan Museum. They are on view before returning to the home of the former U.S. ambassador and his wife, Lee, for their lifetimes.

Carefully weeded out, and displayed with a sense of balance and rhythm for which the Met stands alone, the selection is no anthology evenly distributed among all those who rose to fame. This is an art lover's statement about what mattered most to him in the art between 1865 and the eve of World War I. Why it did become clear as the visual pattern unravels.

The tone is set in the first room, where the focus is on the continuing impact of tradition. Yet, underlying it all is a dramatic tension that one does not usually associate with that phase of European art. This is partly due to van Gogh's "Bouquet" of 1886, one of the masterpieces among his earlier still lifes. Each blossom seems carved in low relief in white or yellow on the deep blue ground in vibrant streaks of black and white and some thin yellow strips. A red poppy over the edge of the white vase, low in the composition, bursts with an upward surge.

Across the room, a different tension, suppressed and threatening, emanates from an extraordinary double portrait by Degas. "At the Milliner's," with unusual care given to the merest detail. A woman ensconced in a sofa, her back turned three-quarters to the viewer, averts her head as if trying to get away from it all, while a milliner puts her arm over her shoulder to pin trimmings to her hat. The embracing gesture conveys a mixture of deference — social convention makes her very much an inferior to the

woman from the establishment — and determination reflecting the skilled craftsman's self-assurance. The palette, in shades of gray, beige, green, off-white, and the lightness of the medium — pastel on paper — tone down the oppressive atmosphere in this scene loaded with Henry Jamesian ambiguity. Even the lighthearted Eugene Boudin, the master of Claude Monet who ushered in Impressionism, adds to the drama in this show. "On the Beach, Sunset" dated 1865, looks like a farewell to European classicism with its golden haze over the horizon, suggestive of Claude Lorrain. Men and women

the painter doing the pretty hazy landscapes prevalent in art books. "Camille Monet on a Garden Bench" is not just a moment in light effects, but an instant snatched from a psychodrama. At center stage, Monet's wife, Camille, seated on a bench, looks up, hesitant, troubled, as a bearded man with bushy eyebrows bends from behind, over the bench, laughing with closed lips. Blacks and grays, betraying Manet's influence, give them a mournful appearance while sunlight pours over a bed of red flowers in the background.

"Camille in the Garden at the House in Argenteuil," done in 1876, comes next in Monet's progression toward modernity. The artist's wife, a silhouette in bluish white on the edge of the picture is the only human presence. Dabs of cold green, red and blue throb in the shaded foreground while bright dabs scintillate behind.

Farther on, the much later "Stroller" illustrates a little-known side to Monet, the portraitist catching a consonance between mood and landscape. The elongated silhouette of the woman rises among tall thin trees, her head tilted to one side as if to match the swaying trees, her face dreamy and sketchy like the foliage.

Monet then meandered through the avenues of Neo-Impressionism, mostly skipped by Annenberg, before reaching the ultimate stage for him, one in which the figural comes within inches of abstraction. He finished few of these works, as Colin B. Bailey remarks in "The Annenberg Collection," published by Harry N. Abrams.

Among them, "Water Lilies" is one of only four signed pieces, the signature indicating that Monet elaborated them almost to satisfaction. This is miles apart from the wispy-wispy blur of many unfinished compositions — a masterpiece in space construction through color such as is hardly ever seen.

Annenberg's taste for vigor and intensity comes out in two extraordinary portraits by Toulouse-Lautrec, introspective, not Impressionist, and then reaches a climax in the third room.

Of the four van Goghs in a row on a wall, two are famous. The "Vase of



"Au Lapin Agile," 1905, oil on canvas by Picasso in the Annenberg Collection.

Roses," painted three months before the artist took his own life, brings to perfection the sculptural effect associated with movement. A ripple runs through each white blossom conveyed by the relief and the outline, painted in blue or yellow. The apple-green wall comes alive with barely noticeable undulations, worked with the brush.

Next to the still life, "La Berceuse," perhaps van Gogh's most advanced portrait, borders on violence through contrast in color — red on the floor, green for the apron, a muddy yellow for the face with pale blue eyes staring down.

In the same room, thanks to the short cuts that such a collector's choice allows, three top-league Gauguins underline the master's debt to van Gogh while also revealing him as staying closer to the classical past. "Portrait of Women," based on the interpretation of a photograph of a mother and daughter from Tahiti, is

modern in color but timeless in the postures of its twin figures. "Still Life with Teapot and Fruit" lies in with tradition in its composition, however bold. It is the analytical use of color that gives its modern tone. Laid almost flat in the background with two studiously yellow blossoms painted on the dark blue wallpaper, color becomes shaded on three-dimensional objects. All along, it heralds the post-Fauve era.

CEZANNE, more subtle, goes further. His prismatic rendition of volume, faintly perceptible in one of his masterpieces, "The House With the Cracked Walls," and very marked in the Annenberg version of the "Montagne Sainte-Victoire," coupled with rhythmic use of color, as in the latter, is what led to the modern age.

The final jump is made in the fourth room, where a Fauve landscape painted by Braque in 1906

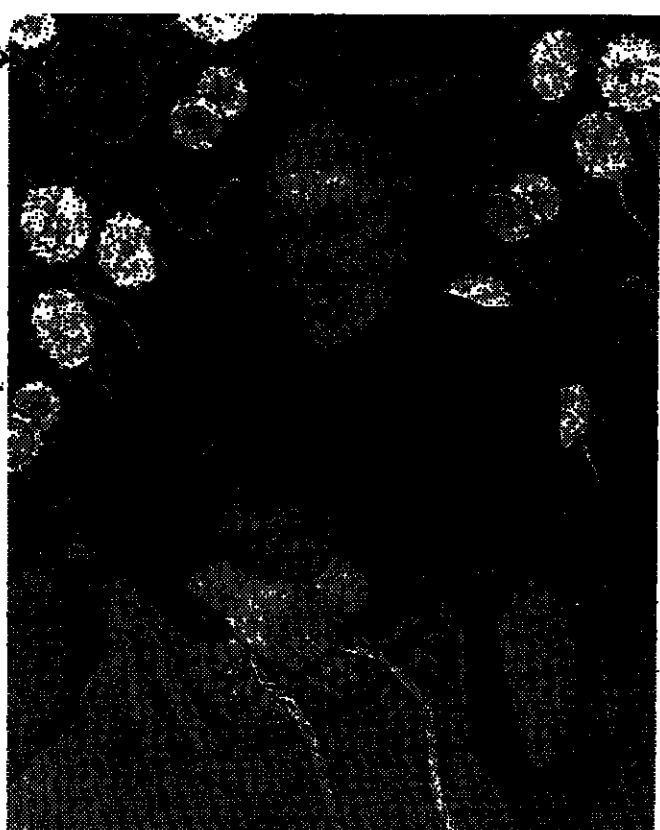
and one of Picasso's great pictures of circus characters from about the same time share that mix of a classical heritage and dramatic intensity through color and line without falling into easy expressionistic devices. Such seems to be Annenberg's aesthetic, vigorous but neat, like the expression Andrew Wyeth has given him in his portrait.

If the criterion of a great collection is its owner's ability to take the viewer through an itinerary so logical in its visual sequence that there appears no alternative, this is it.

The building up of the collection and the donation to the Met close an era. Few private fortunes could sustain the weight of its demands now — \$1 billion is the estimate that has been tossed about. Above all, the works aren't there anymore. By persuading Annenberg to give them to the Met, Philippe de Montebello has made a fantastic coup. It is one the museum director will find hard to replicate.

rooms

"At the Milliner's," 1881, pastel on paper by Degas, above; "La Berceuse," 1889, oil on canvas by van Gogh.



Walter H. Annenberg

in full attire stand or sit at the edge of the water watching the pale sun disk go down. There is an end-of-the-game feel to it.

Most startling, a sketch of a woman standing sideways against a stylized dark blue sea and an unreal white sky, is done in bold broad strokes, contrasting the crisp light on her white dress and her face lost in shadow. The merest flicker of light underlines her profile, turning her into some tragic apparition.

After that operatic overture, one expects the greatest. It comes in three short acts. The first is about Impressionism from its blossoming to its peak.

A group of Monets projects a very different image from that of

## FOR SALE/SOLD

Silver record: A silver sideboard dish made in 1736 by Paul de Lamerie, one of England's greatest silversmiths, was sold for \$1,485,000 (\$2.57 million), a world record for a single piece of silver. Christie's said. The circular dish, 27 inches (69 centimeters) in diameter, had high-relief figures of a dolphin, fruits of the earth and sea and an aristocratic coat of arms. It was sold by the estate of the late Hilmar Reikman, a Norwegian shipping magnate, who bought it in London in 1970. Francis Raymackers, a silver dealer, said he bought the dish for the Fick family, descendants of the German industrialist Friedrich Fick, who died in 1972.

Last-minute snags: The ship's bell of the Lusitania, sunk by German torpedoes in 1917, failed to raise a single bid when it came up for auction at Sotheby's. The auction house had expected to get up to \$30,000 (\$51,000) for the relic from the ill-fated Cunard liner.

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# Herald Tribune

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## Yes, Help Moscow Reform

After a brief but bloody bow to reaction, President Mikhail Gorbachev seems to be reviving radical reform. He has struck an agreement with nine of 15 Soviet republics to decentralize political and economic power. He is giving license to reformers who want to move rapidly to markets. And now he wants to press his case for Western aid on a doubtful group of seven in mid-July.

The fierce Soviet struggle over reform presents a precious opportunity for President George Bush. As Moscow teeters on the verge of transformation, concerted Western action might be enough to tip the political balance toward the reformers.

Now—before the internal battle is settled—Mr. Bush has to overcome his hesitation and get the United States and its allies to offer a grand bargain: Western aid conditioned on Soviet reform. Aid would not flow until reform began, and aid would stop if reform aborted. At worst, the West would squander a few tens of billions of dollars. At best, it would transform the Soviet Union and make a new world order possible. For the United States, which has been spending more than \$100 billion a year to deter the Soviets militarily, that is a prudent risk.

Mr. Gorbachev has promised radical reform in the past, only to shrink from it at the last moment. Last fall, he abandoned the 500-day plan to convert the Soviet economy to markets when conservative forces marshaled opposition. But his economy is imploding, and Mr. Gorbachev has learned that further delay in moving to markets would be catastrophic. The West can lend him a hand, so long as he irreversibly commits the country to the essential reforms already embraced by Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Political democratization: Progress toward pluralism must be assured, based on the rule of law and fundamental freedoms. Without an unshackled press, freedom of association and competitive elections, no government can rightfully claim the mandate it needs to sustain economic reform.

Economic stabilization: Moscow cannot head off hyperinflation and move to markets unless it stops printing mountains of rubles to finance huge deficits. That requires slashing subsidies for inefficient enterprises.

Price reform: Markets cannot work unless individuals can calculate costs using prices that reflect scarcity. That requires quick decontrol of most prices, also key to breaking bureaucratic control of the economy.

Convertible ruble: Soviet consumers will be prey to monopolies set free from bureaucratic controls. One protection is readily available foreign imports. That requires a convertible ruble, allowing enterprises engaged in trade to buy and sell foreign exchange at fair market value.

Private property: Markets cannot work if the individuals making economic decisions have no stake in the property, factories and stores they control. Privatizing small shops can be rapid; privatizing everything else takes time—and a blueprint as comprehensive as Poland's or Czechoslovakia's.

If Moscow and key republics sign on to these radical reforms, the West should pitch in enthusiastically with substantial economic aid. The Soviets will need immediate cash to ease their balance-of-payments problem and to stabilize the ruble. Later the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the new European Bank for Reconstruction and Development will need to provide development aid.

How much money will it take? Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard University, who helped design Poland's transition to markets, estimates \$150 billion over five years. The sum need not be daunting if the United States, Western Europe, Canada and Japan share it.

Mr. Gorbachev may be ready to lead the Soviet Union toward markets. But that path is too treacherous to navigate alone. If he tries to, he will risk reaction from those who want to roll back reform.

Western aid will not guarantee a Soviet move to markets. But it might just suffice to sway wavering forces in favor of reform. That tantalizing prospect calls out for a bold response by Mr. Bush and Western allies.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A Chance for Ethiopia

Ethiopia's 17-year dictator, Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, a man with a breathtaking amount of his countrymen's blood on his hands, has fled under pressure of rebel military attack and parallel Soviet and American persuasion. His departure puts this East African state within sight of the end of its civil war and the beginning of reconstruction in peace.

Ethiopia's internal struggles would have amounted just to one more sad story of post-independence frustration in Africa had they not prompted the attention, for global purposes, of the great powers. The United States and the Soviet Union came to the vigorous support of successive Ethiopian regimes, and what started as a sad story became a great tragedy.

Against the American-supported Haile Selassie and then against the Soviet-supported Colonel Mengistu, several insurgencies developed. Their Marxist character kept Washington at a distance, though conservative Arab governments came to their aid. Finally, in the Gorbachev era, the Kremlin began getting out of foreign sinkholes and dumped Colonel Mengistu. This is how he now finds himself in Zaire, where it is also how the United States, unattached to any of

the Ethiopian parties during the Mengistu period, finds itself now requested by all of them to play the part of honest broker.

The State Department's man for Africa, Herman Cohen, hosts a critical meeting of Ethiopians in London on Monday. Its purpose is to move the crisis into a political arena in which the parties will produce a democratic constitution within the context of a loose federation. The Ethiopian caretaker government has this last chance to avert a final bloody rebel capture of Addis Ababa by cooperating in a political transition. The insurgents have the opportunity to win valuable Western backing by showing that their democratic proclivities are stronger than their Marxist ones. Extremes have been fighting for independence for 30 years against Ethiopian nationalist dictators. They now must decide whether access to a democratic procedure will temper their national views.

The end of a nightmare beckons to the Ethiopian people. They have the prospect of breaking free from totalitarian government and ethnic strife and joining an African search for pluralism and growth. It is good to have the United States making its contribution to this potential turn.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## Bad Advice on Abortion

The U.S. Supreme Court has now ruled that the government has the power to pressure clinics to hide information or even mislead poor pregnant women about their right to choose whether or not to bear a child. That is bad enough as a moral and constitutional matter, but the court did more. It held that Congress has authorized the Department of Health and Human Services to promote this coercive, unprofessional assault on a woman's rights.

By a 5-4 vote the court upheld regulations of the Reagan and Bush administrations claiming to implement Congress's program subsidizing family planning clinics. Those rules forbid even the mention of abortion in such clinics. If a woman directly asks whether abortion is an option for her unintended pregnancy, she must be told that "the project does not consider abortion an appropriate method of family planning," even if the doctors believe it is an option.

Surely Congress had no intention, when it passed the 1970 Family Planning Act, of forcing doctors and clinics to give such skewed advice. Even when it denied funding for poor women's abortions, Congress never contemplated gagging doctors from giving

full, honest answers to trusting women.

Justice David Souter, the newest member of the court and Thursday's swing vote, had it right during oral arguments last fall when he asked whether the federal regulations did not interfere with a doctor's professional advice. Yet he joined Chief Justice William Rehnquist's opinion that denied any such interference. Their capricious reasoning: Since the patient has no reason to rely on the clinic for complete medical advice, she will not be misled. Nor is the doctor forced to say anything he does not believe because he is only stating clinic policy.

The chief justice argues defensively, cynically and contrary to experience, that poor women are no worse off under the federal rules than if Congress had never supported any clinics at all. Tell that to the patient who sees the clinic as her only source of information or help.

Congress now must respond with legislation so clear that the Supreme Court will honor its intention to provide honest information and choice with family planning services for the poor. A simple bill negating the federal rules is the right place to start.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Other Comment

### A New Start Is Needed

The tragic death of Rajiv Gandhi, which may plunge India into a new spiral of violence, has given a martyr's halo to this actually quite average politician. If he stood out on the political chessboard of the subcontinent, it was largely because of the mediocrity of other politicians, who constantly tip one another as they grasp for power. Each time they face difficulties, Indian politicians of all stripes resort to the most detestable

methods, fanning local rivalries to firm their own grip on power or to loosen that of their adversary of the moment. Indian politics will have to make a fresh start now that the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty is ended. Will the country's leading political force manage to find new leaders, and new structures? We must hope, in any case, that it will be built on a healthier base than the assumption that the son, or the daughter, shall automatically succeed the mother or the father.

—Le Monde (Paris)

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## Yugoslavia's Collapse Is Not Unavoidable

By Flora Lewis

BELGRADE — Yugoslavia is in the grip of mesmerized paralysis. There is a strong and growing feeling of impending collapse — maybe even civil war. There is almost as strong a feeling that it cannot be stopped.

Many people say it is stupid, that it makes no sense, that it is a doomed, driven reaction to 19th-century passions which led to the 20th-century horrors, just when most of Europe is moving toward a 21st century that will transcend such primitive urges.

There is widespread recognition that the tragedy looming ahead is entirely self-inflicted.

There are no outside forces, no immutable laws to blame. This is entirely, consciously homemade. Yet the plunge continues.

Circumstances differ, but there are essential problems of economic, political and social transformation akin to the painful passage of Eastern Europe out of totalitarian dictatorships. Still, Eastern Europe did not have a real chance to start on the transition until last year.

Yugoslavia has had more than 10 years since Tito died and more than a generation since considerable liberalization and reform put it far ahead of other East European countries. Yugoslavs took pride in being ahead of the game. Now they contemplate the irony that they may now be ahead on the road to disaster.

Well-informed, sober economists say that if things go on this way, within six months the shops will be empty, industry disorganized and communications disrupted as in the Soviet Union — if open warfare hasn't already broken out.

It is all so preposterous that a tendency is growing among thoughtful people outside of the

union to say maybe it was a mistake to create a single country of the diverse South Slavs. If the Yugoslavs cannot stand living with one another, let them go their own ways.

But a civilized, friendly divorce is not possible. Too many parts of the country are too heterogeneous, emotions are too high and weapons too plentiful for a peaceful breakup.

Well then, say some outsiders regretfully, let them fight, and we will have to concentrate on containing the violence. Europe cannot allow itself to be infected by this anachronistic, ethnic-nationalist malady.

That too is an illusion. Quarantine wouldn't work. The fighting would spill over, old border disputes in the region would revive,

tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands of refugees would press on neighbors and economic patterns which affect the whole of Europe would be severed.

Everybody knows this, but as one high Yugoslav official said, when asked whether he really doesn't think of the costs.

The crux of the dispute is that Serbia wants either a firmly centralized state it can dominate or, to fulfill an old dream, a greater Serbia, encompassing all Serbs.

Croatia and Slovenia want out, as though "out" were a place to go. They debate themselves. That would mean being taken in by the prospering, stable parts of Europe.

President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia says he will declare independence in a month if the crisis over a new president is not solved by then.

Frantic efforts are being made to elicit international consensus against a breakup. There is no such support, but neither is there a prospect for a purely internal solution.

This is a time for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, with its fledgling conflict-control center, to test its will and ability to keep the peace in Europe, even though at this stage the conflict is all within Yugoslavia.

Mediation and arbitration are not yet feasible, but there is a way to show real concern and provide a cooling-off period that could lead to necessary negotiations. That could be done by naming a commission of investigation, composed not of governments but of eminent, respected personalities, to listen to all sides and report on the issues.

It would offer both a steam valve and an authoritative source demonstrating that nobody involved in the conflict can count on rallying the rest of Europe to its cause.

It would be best if Yugoslavia or one or more of the constituent republics took the initiative to invite a CSCE inquiry. If not, the European Community and the United States should propose it.

The key question is going to be Europe, CSCE provides that no European borders can be changed except by common agreement, the sine qua non of peace. The same rule should be extended to republic borders within Yugoslavia. That is the way to head off the war.

It is a critical test of the new European order that the CSCE proclaimed last November in Paris.

© Flora Lewis



By Dr. ANGELO in El Paso (Spain). COW Syndicate

## Israel's Economic Planners Face a Fateful Choice

By Mac La Follette

JERUSALEM — In the 1990s, Israel will become either the world's latest economic miracle or its newest underdeveloped country. The key factor in the nation's future is the immigration of an expected one million Soviet Jews, which will increase the population 25 percent by 1995. If private sector jobs are created for this talented group, Israel may become the next Korea. If the public sector employs the immigrants, Israel could well become the next Argentina.

Today, Israel's business community is well positioned to handle the demands of immigration. It excels in foreign trade and in profitable, hi-tech industry. This creates long-term jobs.

But Israel's political climate threatens the economy. The Labor and Likud parties favor centrally planned economic schemes that have led to poor government investments and periods of economic instability. The heavily politicized labor union, Histadrut, uses strikes to stymie economic reform.

When left alone, Israeli firms are among the most competitive in the world. Israel must succeed in global markets because its neighbors will not buy its goods. As a result, Israeli companies distribute their products to more than 80 countries, an astounding figure given the small size of the economy.

Israeli firms have learned how to use the country's most valuable resource: educated people. Foreign multinationals like Motorola and National Semiconductor use the country's low-cost engineering to develop new products. Intel created its widely used 386 microchip here.

The immigration of Soviet Jews — 30 percent of whom have science or engineering degrees — adds

to Israel's edge. "We employ over 100 immigrants and find them adept in programming," said Uzi Galil, chairman of Elron, a hi-tech firm.

But for the nation to achieve its economic potential, the government must limit its role in commerce. A surprising number of business leaders are pessimistic that this will happen.

Currently, the government consumes 60 percent of national income — more than twice the rate of similar-sized economies. Thirty percent of the labor force works for the state, and there is still 11 percent unemployment.

The numbers could get worse. Senior government officials apply circular logic when arguing that the immigrant job problem will partly solve itself. "Forty percent of the immigrants will find jobs from the increased demand brought on by the immigrants themselves," said Abraham Shohet, a member of the Knesset's all-powerful Finance Committee. But who will pay for their consumption when they have no money? The government. And how will internal consumption lead to the export growth the country needs for long-term jobs? It won't.

"The bottom line is that politicians have no understanding of what commerce is all about," said Gideon Tolksky, a partner in an Israeli venture capital fund. "We do not trust working with them in trying to employ immigrants because we always wind up bearing so much cost."

A key factor distinguishing nations that succeed in the world economy from those that fail is the

degree of cooperation between business and government. South Korea, Taiwan and Japan exhibit a great degree of cooperation; Brazil, Argentina and, until recently, Mexico, do not. The result? The Asian countries have prospered; in the Latin American countries, unemployment, high debt and social instability are the norm.

Officials at the U.S. Embassy here are reported to think that the business-government relationship in Israel is starting to resemble that of the Latin countries. To prove the point, many Israeli hi-tech firms — the country's economic future — are moving headquarters overseas and depriving the country of wealth and jobs.

In response to these trends, government should limit its role to informing the world of the nation's past business successes; investing more money in infrastructure; and reducing the paperwork needed to incorporate a small business. In return, the country will attract more foreign firms seeking low-cost research and development; and it will encourage its entrepreneurial class.

Recently, Soviet immigration has dropped by one-third to one-half as Soviet Jews wait for news of better job opportunities. The government should take this as a vote of no confidence in programs to increase state employment. Once the government limits its role in the economy, Israeli firms will press their advantages. And then Soviet Jews will begin to find long-term jobs.

Mr. La Follette writes political commentary on international economics. He contributed this view to the International Herald Tribune.

## 878 Voices, 1 for Peace: The Networks Call This Fair

By Norman Solomon

OAKLAND, California — Washington editors for 15 major American news organizations sent a letter to Defense Secretary Dick Cheney early this month complaining about press restrictions during the Gulf war and criticizing the Pentagon for withholding "virtually total control" over coverage.

Blaming the Pentagon for the quality of war reporting is convenient for journalists who may feel embarrassed that reporters more often resembled government stenographers than newsgatherers. In reality, albeit with some grumbling, the big media went along to get along with the warmakers.

None of the letter-signers' news organizations joined in a lawsuit filed in January by some small media outlets and a few individual journalists

to overturn the Pentagon rules. What is more, press complaints about Pentagon censorship have served as a lightning rod to draw attention away from the media's self-censorship.

No federal agency forced the news media to rely on the narrow range of pro-war analysts that dominated the networks and news pages nor made correspondents mouth the sanitized military lingo that routinely obscured the war's human impact.

No government edict called for ABC's Peter Jennings to exult in the "brilliance of laser-guided bombs" set off by the American military, though he described an Iraqi missile as "a horrifying killer."

Nor were Pentagon rules a factor

when the CBS journalist Charles Osgood called the initial bombing of Iraq "a marvel" or when his colleague Jim Stoen extolled "two days of almost picture-perfect assaults."

Nor were journalists compelled to follow meanders of civilian casualties with immediate denial of responsibility, as when Tom Brokaw declared on NBC: "We must not out again and again that it is Saddam Hussein who put these innocents in harm's way."

No Pentagon restriction forced the network anchors to keep speaking of the U.S. government as "we," thereby narrowing the separation between press and state to the vanishing point.

And the government could not dictate who was included in broadcast

discourse. A study by Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting found that during the war only one of 878 on-air sources who appeared on ABC, CBS and NBC might have represented a national peace organization.

As for print media, Time magazine helped set the dominant tone the first week of the war when it defined "collateral damage" as "a term meaning dead or wounded civilians who should have picked a safer neighborhood."

Throughout the war, with rare exceptions, the media engaged in what might be called linguicide — the destruction of language.

When a dictatorship such as Saudi Arabia, which imprisons and tortures dissenters, is called "moderate," that is linguicide. And when a few missiles fired at Tel Aviv are called weapons of terror while thousands of missiles fired at Baghdad and Basra are called "marvels," that is linguicide too.

If top editors really want to change wartime reporting, they should probe their own abdication of journalistic responsibility and send their next complaint letter to themselves.

The writer, co-author of "Unreliable Sources: A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media," is an associate of Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, a media watch group. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

## Tibetans Are an Endangered Species

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — Once upon a time, but not long ago, there was a species of turtle, soft yellow and tan, that could live in mountain and high plateau.

Few people knew much about them, but those that did came to love them for their beauty, their way of neither attacking other creatures nor running from them, or simply because the antiquity of these mountain turtles seemed somehow to be part of a common heritage, a gift to be treasured by all.

Then along came some cruel and stupid hunters from the plains who slaughtered a great many of the beautiful turtles, stole away many others, caged the rest and treated them viciously. The world heard about it and began to fear that the species might die out.

But the hunters said angrily that it was all a lie — no turtles had been killed except those bad turtles that would not follow the hunters into the cages. The hunters said that those who survived and behaved themselves were very happy and had come to love their cages.

So the leaders of the world said, Oh, that's fine, and I hope we have not hurt the feelings of you hunters by asking about the turtles.

But of course that kind of thing does not happen in the real world. Just days ago the United States told the Japanese to stop buying hawksbill turtles from hunters in the Pacific and Indian oceans. The Japanese

were making expensive combs and things from their turtle shells and wild-life protectors quite rightly were afraid the species would vanish. The Republic of the United States said to the Empire of Japan: Cut it out or we won't buy your pearls or goldfish anymore. The Japanese did.

Is anybody protecting, please, another of God's endangered species, which happens to be human, the Tibetans? Not yet. Neither the Republic nor the Empire nor any other nation, great or small, does anything about the Tibetans, except India, which gives them refuge when they can escape their cages.

Would it help to say that just as there are laws against slaughtering hawksbill turtles, there are international laws against genocide — the elimination of nations and cultures? Probably not.

Of course, from time to time human turtles do have minor use and do get some attention while it lasts. Like Kurds. We may forget them but they and other turtle populations will probably remember us, and how we told them to go fight the turtle killers.

There was also a time, a few decades ago, when even Tibetans were considered potentially useful. The United States trained some hundreds of them in Colorado, in case they were needed to be parachuted against the Chinese Army. The Ti-

betans would do anything to try to open the cage for their parents and children inside. Then Washington and Beijing became great friends. Tibet was not only dropped but boycotted. Someday perhaps history will forget that shame, not soon. Last month President George Bush did agree to meet the Dalai Lama, Tibet's exiled leader, for the first time. That act of disobedience by the president infuriated Beijing. But, exhausted by its bravery, the administration is resuming appeasement posture.

With the years, Beijing becomes ever more idiotic with anger when the world pays attention to Tibet. In Lhasa, Beijing has great friends. Tibet was not only dropped but boycotted. Someday perhaps history will forget that shame, not soon. Last month President George Bush did agree to meet the Dalai Lama, Tibet's exiled leader, for the first time. That act of disobedience by the president infuriated Beijing. But, exhausted by its bravery, the administration is resuming appeasement posture.

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## Soviet Aid: The Case For Caution

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — You always blame the Bush administration for dancing nervously around the question of how much help to offer Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet Union. The signals from Moscow are confusing enough to puzzle anyone. After spending the winter of 1990 up to the military and the KGB, cracking down on pro-democracy and independence forces, Mr. Gorbachev appears to have pivoted again. He has made some concessions to the Russian federation leader, Boris Yeltsin. And, in a gesture to the West, he has finally kept his promise to have the Soviet parliament formally ease restrictions on emigration.

But President George Bush is slow to view Mr. Gorbachev with optimism, particularly when it comes to offering economic aid.

The case for caution emerged clearly in a Senate debate this month on a resolution urging the administration to look sympathetically at Mr. Gorbachev's request for \$1.5 billion in credits to purchase U.S. farm products. Although the resolution passed, 70-20, critics of the measure seemed to have the better of the argument.

"All of us in this debate want economic and political reform in the Soviet Union to succeed," said Senator Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan, who supported the credits. "But there is disagreement over whether expanding agricultural credits will help or hurt the chances... Neither proponents or opponents of this resolution can be absolutely sure."

Many of those urging the food aid, including the prime sponsor, the Senate minority leader, Bob Dole of Kansas, come from states whose farmers are eager to expand their subsidized overseas sales. But that does not discredit their arguments. Competing nations, including France and Canada, are offering the Soviets credits for purchases of their crops. U.S. farmers, who have seen exports shrink and prices fall this year, would benefit from Soviet purchases.

On the Soviet side, Mr. Dole and other proponents could argue the calls for credits came not just from Mr. Gorbachev but from former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, a strong advocate of reform, and from close allies of Boris Yeltsin. Their statements that emergency aid is needed to avoid food riots, civil chaos and repression cannot be dismissed.

But it is disquieting that within a month of the United States' granting Mr. Gorbachev's previous request, in December, for \$1 billion in farm credits, he sanctioned the bloody repression of democratically chosen governments in the Baltic states.

For all the political conditions that Mr. Dole, a Republican, attached to his resolution, there can be no guarantee that new aid will keep the Soviets from cracking down again.

"At a minimum," said Senator Bill Bradley, Democrat of New Jersey, "we should say no credits until the Soviet government withdraws, evacuates and returns those refugees [it has occupied] to the democratically elected governments" in the Baltics.

Mr. Bradley made another compelling point. The \$1.5 billion in credits would finance the purchase of 42 million metric tons of U.S. grain. But Soviet farms grew 235 million metric tons last year — and got less than half of it to consumers, because of corruption and inefficiency.

Providing "emergency" aid to Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Bradley said, "is simply putting off the day when Soviet leaders recognize that the only way they are going to improve the standard of living of their people is by moving to a more market-oriented system, which they have consistently refused to do... and by a move to more democratically based reforms."

Mr. Bradley cited recent testimony by a State Department official, Curtis W. Kamman, to back his argument.

"There is no natural reason for the Soviets to have the food problems that they do," Mr. Kamman said. "They are blessed with fertile soils, adequate water resources and hard-working and resourceful farmers." Farmers' markets and private cooperatives "have proven that they can succeed without the intrusive intervention of Moscow." Privatizing farming, food processing and distribution would produce "marked improvement in the condition of Soviet farmers and in the availability of goods for Soviet consumers."

To date, however, the Soviet leadership has been long on talk... but very short on effective market-opening measures.

America cannot do for the Soviets what their leadership will not do for itself. It would be a mistake to try.

The Washington Post

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1891: Divided in Paris

PARIS — "La Semaine Sanglante" was commemorated by the Socialists of Paris yesterday [May 24] by the usual pilgrimage to the graves of the Communists shot in May 1871. As the Socialists house is way much divided against itself, the pilgrims to the Père-Lachaise cemetery went, not in one body, but in detached groups at different hours, so as to obviate a collision between the various "ist" parties.

### 1916: To Villa's Rescue

WASHINGTON — Thirty thousand Carranzistas, accompanied by their complement of artillery and cavalry, are reported as having left Mexico City and other principal points in Central and Southern Mexico, en route toward the American border. It is reported here that General Venustiano Carranza, de facto president of Mexico, is preparing to send a Note to Washington demanding the immediate withdrawal of the American

### 1941: The Hood Sunk

LONDON — [From our New York edition:] Great Britain's battle cruiser Hood, the largest warship in the world, was sunk today [May 24] in an engagement off Greenland between British and German naval forces. The battle, which may well prove to be the most tremendous naval encounter of the war, was still going on at a late hour tonight, with the British forces in pursuit of the Nazi warship, which included the battleship Bismarck, already damaged in the action by a burst of the Royal Navy. The 42,000-ton Hood, reputedly one of the heaviest protected of all warships, suffered a direct hit in a magazine and blew up. It was feared that few, if any, of the complement of 1,341 men survived. An Admiralty communique admitted in giving meager details of the disaster.



**By Leonard Silk**  
*New York Times Service*

**An MIT study warns against the dangers of intellectual protectionism.**

Foreign support is accepted at MIT under the same conditions as U.S.-sponsored research: that it advances the research and education missions determined by MIT, fulfills the faculty's research goals, is enriching for students and can be freely and openly published and discussed.

But foreign institutions appear to have been quicker and more thorough in developing opportunities stemming from American research.

■ **U.S. Groups Assuaged**

**By Leigh Bruce**  
*International Herald Tribune*

## Back to Hong Kong, Quietly

The return of the astronauts is being helped along by a quiet territorial government policy, begun in 1988. Under the Easy Travel System, as it is known, returning Hong Kong emigrants don't have to show up with the documents that the Hong Kong identity cards issue after, 1987.

**By Steven Greenhouse**  
*New York Times Service*

Some computer experts said they believed that Francis Lorentz, the Bull chairman, had threatened to resign, saying the decision might violate longstanding accords between NEC and Bull, and that Mrs.

Monthly interest bank	1 1/4	1 1/4	1 1/4	Paris (12 1/2 mths)	355.00	356.00	+ 0.75
Monthly interest bank				Zurich	355.00	356.00	+ 0.50
Conversion rate	9/10	9/10	9/10	New York	—	356.15	+ 1.30
Gold interest	9 1/4	9 1/4	9 1/4				
Monthly interest bank	9%	9%	9%	Luxembourg, Paris and London official			
Monthly interest bank	9%	9%	9%	Banking: Hong Kong and Zurich clearing			
Monthly interest bank	9%	9%	9%	and clearing in New York and market close.			
Monthly interest bank	9%	9%	9%	All prices in U.S. per ounce.			

Sources: Reuters, Salomon Brothers, Bank of Tokyo, Commerzbank, Credit Lyonnais.

Source: Reuters.

high drug prices afflict the elderly and chronically ill the most. Americans older than 65 pay more for drugs than any other age group, and pay more than people in other countries, even when adjusted for differences in the way drugs are used. The study found that drug companies account for the price differences to the workings of the U.S. health care system, not the drugs' prices when they prescribe drugs, Mr. Long said.

**Herald Tribune**  
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## THE MONEY REPORT

## BRIEFCASE

## Providence Capital Launches A Retirement Savings Fund

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## Study Shows Entrepreneurs Prefer Owning Businesses

Small business owners say that the satisfaction of being their own bosses more than offsets the longer hours they have to work, a recent U.S. survey reports.

And 90 percent of those polled by the MasterCard Business Survey said that given the choice, they would start their own business if they had to do it all over again.

The group surveyed 405 owners of businesses with fewer than 100 employees. Eighty percent had left jobs to start their own firms.

About 79 percent said they worked more than 40 hours a week and 44 percent put in over 60 hours weekly. Fifty-three percent said they worked longer hours now than when they were employees; 23 percent said they worked about the same number of hours and 16 percent said less.

Asked why they struck out on their own, 38 percent said they wanted to have more control over their work and their lives; 24 percent did it for money; 21 percent said they took advantage of an opportunity; 10 percent took over a family business and 7 percent wanted to be entrepreneurs.

Twenty-two percent said they took no

vacation at all last year and 58 percent said they had less leisure time now than they had before setting up their businesses.

## 'Purchasing Power Parity' For Cannon Lincoln in U.K.

Hong Kong is a long way to go for a cheap meal. That's a reasonable conclusion if you're based in London, as is mutual fund manager Cannon Lincoln.

Cannon Lincoln argues that "purchasing power parity" — the theory that currencies will equalize their values so that commodities cost the same in different countries — does not work where the commodities or services are not easily transportable. So, runs the argument, the relative expense of Big Macs (dearest, cent for kopik in Russia, cheapest in Singapore) and haircuts are irrelevant to currency moves. Interest differentials, inflation, and so on are what count.

Dollar-based investors will be interested to know that the manager's international currency fund has just a 5.3 percent weighting in the U.S. dollar, 11.9 in the yen, 44.7 in sterling, with rest in European currencies. Readers who have been following the Money Report regularly will know that the section expects the dollar to continue to sustain its strong performance this year.

## Amid Crises, Gold Does All But Glitter

By David C. Lanchner

DESPITE the Gulf war, growing instability in Eastern Europe, financial woes in the U.S. and rising inflation in Germany and Japan, the average gold price appreciated a puny 1 percent in 1990.

This year gold has declined 10 percent and is hovering near the crucial price level of \$350 an ounce. Apart from a brief downward spike last June, gold has not traded below this level in five years. What has happened to the traditional investment wisdom that gold is good in hard times?

"Although I am not sure what will make gold go up, it is difficult to write it off forever," says Veronica Schachenschneider, manager of the Premier gold fund at French bank, Crédit du Nord.

Premier, like virtually every other top ranking gold fund of the past few years, is a hybrid portfolio that has the right to buy a range of additional investments.

Since January, the value of the average gold fund has dropped nearly 16 percent. And over three years, more than a fifth of the typical gold fund's value has washed away. But the mixed portfolios found at the top of the performance charts have actually managed to register gains during these periods.

"A gold fund is special," says Martin Wiseman, portfolio manager of California-based Franklin Gold, a hybrid fund that has the second best five-year performance record among the 75 U.S. and European gold funds tracked by Mirocra statistics.

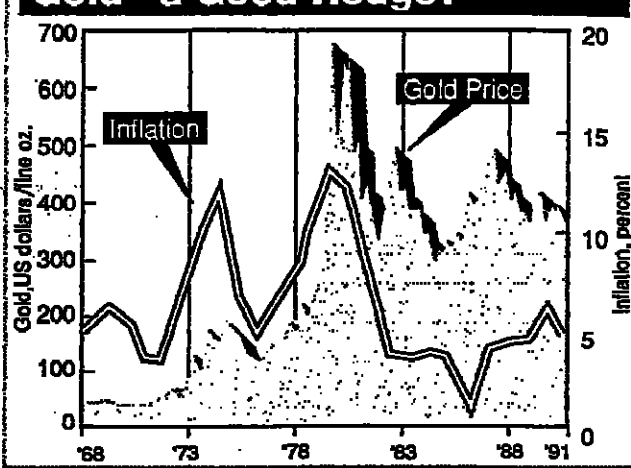
But apart from rising in times of great economic or political dysfunction, gold often does nothing, says Mr. Wiseman.

These managers still see gold as a protective investment but they spice their portfolios with nongold investments. They typically ascribe gold's poor recent performance to high real interest rates and dangers too distant to rattle investor confidence. When asked to justify a gold investment they often cite the world's growing debt problems.

"You could have a period where heavy debt keeps up inflationary pressures but slows growth," says Mr. Wiseman. Interest rates would drop and corporate results would be poor. With stock, bond and commodity markets sputtering, gold's insurance value would finally kick in, say the managers.

Investors who have bought the best of the hybrid funds have little to be sorry about. Mr. Wiseman's fund has appreciated nearly 89 per-

## Gold - a Good Hedge?



Sources: Datastream, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

BNT

on South African mines such as Kloof. Over the last two years significant salary hikes, increasingly hard to reach gold veins and a shift in finance policy contributed to a sharp hike in mining costs and transformed the country from one of the world's cheapest producers into one of the world's most expensive producers. As a result, South African mining shares have fallen about 50 percent more than U.S. and Australian mining shares over the past year.

But Mr. Baring believes that costs are once again under control in South Africa and that mines are positioned for strong earnings. "The mines have been closing unprofitable operations and the government has returned to a policy of keeping profits from gold sales high by devaluing the rand against the dollar," he says.

Gold funds typically have front-end fees ranging from 2 percent to 6 percent, with annual management fees hovering near 1 percent of net assets. Some funds, like the top performing Freedom Gold and Government Trust, also charge so-called "redemption fees" when investors cash out. Such charges usually decline to about 1 percent of net assets if investors have been in a fund for more than 3 years.

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## In East Europe, a Push for Privatization

By Susana Antunes

THE euphoria that accompanied the collapse of the communist systems across Eastern Europe has largely evaporated. It has been replaced by the realization that transition from a centrally planned economy to the rules of the marketplace is a slow and often painful process.

The challenges they face are vast: creation of a modern banking system and an internationally recognized legal framework, development of a financial services network and stock markets and above all the nurturing of new business and commercial skills.

For many of these countries, privatization of state industries is regarded as crucial to that process, and after many months of deliberation and debate, these fledgling democracies have finally begun the job of selling off their assets. Privatization will not only make these enterprises more competitive, it will draw in much needed foreign capital to help reconstruct Eastern Europe's industrial base.

Each country however, is approaching the task in different ways, reflecting domestic conditions and political concerns.

Hungary is perhaps furthest down the privatization path. The expertise of its government and professionals is relatively well developed, given its long contact with the West, and it seems to have taken up entrepreneurship and embraced foreign investors more readily than the other former East bloc nations.

It was the first to introduce an institutional program of privatization, which has three principal strands. The first is what it calls "spontaneous" privatization, where the managers of companies can initiate sales, and participate in a buyout, perhaps with the help of a foreign partner. Potential investors can also take the initiative and even bypass the local managers with a direct approach to the state for authorization.

Secondly, there is its "pre-privatization" program, embracing the sale of 10,000 small businesses such as shops and restaurants. These will be either auctioned to the highest bidder, or leased.

The flagship, however, is the "program privatization," which involves the sale of the 2,700 larger enterprises in state hands. The State Property Agency is charged with supervising the process. Last year it assembled the first package, which consists of 20 enterprises, selected mainly from the manufacturing, tourism and trade sectors, and is designed to form a blueprint for future sales.

One of these, Ibusz, a travel agency and financial services company, came to the market in Hungary's first public offering last June. The flotation was oversubscribed 23 times, and in the first

Fund	Sponsors	Managers	Size	Targets	Listing	Invested
Eastern Europe Development Fund	Investco Ltd, Daxa Europe	Central European Asset Management	\$40m	Export-oriented	unlisted	0%
Autro-Hungary Fund	Merrill Lynch	Creditanstalt	\$48.5m	Austrian and Hungarian listed stocks	Amsterdam Stock Exchange	56.8% Aust, 5.6% Hung
Autro-Hungary Company	Investco Ltd, Daxa Europe	Central European Asset Management	\$100m	low-capacity opp. focused, trading	Stock exchange	40%
First Hungary Fund	Net Bank of Hungary, Andrew S. S. & Co.	Best, Stearns & Co.	\$100m	service sectors, privatisation opp.	well seen when assets are eligible	12-13%
Emerging Eastern Europe Fund	George Soros Ltd, France Corp, Stearns & Co.	Tyndall Holdings	\$15m	service sectors, privatisation opp.	London, Luxembourg	20%
East German Investment Trust	Courtesy Net West Wood, Merrill Lynch	Emmerson & Co.	\$40m	construction, property, service	International Stock Exchange	0%
Deutsche Investment Corp	Robert Fleming & Co.	Fluor Investment Management	\$250m	publishing, brewing, light industrial, property, construction	International Stock Exchange & Berlin Stock Exchange	0%
Central & East European Private Equity	Robert Fleming & Co.	Fluor Investment Management	\$250m	publishing, brewing, light industrial, property, construction	International Stock Exchange & Berlin Stock Exchange	0%
Creditanstalt Hungary Fund	Creditanstalt	Creditanstalt	\$50m	Hungarian listed stocks	Stock exchange	0%

Source: Central European Digest

days of trading, the shares soared from the offer price of 4,900 Hungarian florints to around 12,000, although they have since fallen back to around their initial price.

Poland has around 8,000 substantial enterprises in state hands and has decided on a rapid process of privatization. Small businesses have been on sale since the end of 1989, but it is only now that sale of the larger companies are getting under way.

The initial privatization of 40 companies began in January with the flotation of five companies. Two more are to be sold off in May and five more are expected to be ready for sale this year. The first flotations, however, drew a lot of criticism for their complexity and for not being sufficiently attractive to foreign investors.

Foreigners are generally limited to 20 percent of any one company. The authorities are seeking to simplify procedures, and are hoping to encourage more trade sales to foreigners, along the lines of the Dutch company Philips' recent purchase of Poland's largest lighting company.

At the same time, Poland is hoping to establish a vouchers scheme, where the state will issue free vouchers to the population as a way of selling off up to 30 percent of the shares in around another 100. The

scheme is immensely complicated and yet to be fully worked through — a government announcement is due to be made in June.

Czechoslovakia has proved much slower in embracing free market policies and privatization, despite its status as the most industrialized nation of the former Eastern bloc. Divisions in government delayed the necessary legislation, but the process did eventually get under way last January, with the first public auction of shops and restaurants. The state is aiming to sell more than 100,000 of these small businesses to the round of auctions for companies that failed to meet their minimum "calling price" in the first round. However, foreigners can use Czechs as proxy bidders.

Large-scale privatization and industry restructuring is to follow, but the state has declared its intention to retain substantial holdings in what it regards as key enterprises. The task was effectively launched by Volkswagen's joint venture with Skoda, unveiled last December, which could eventually see the German car firm increasing its stake from an initial 25 to 70 percent.

For each of these countries, speed is of the essence, inspired by the collapse of trade with the Soviet

Union and other Comecon countries. Stated simply, if they take it too slowly, a lot of their businesses will go bust. Against that, each country has to weigh up the risks of selling off their assets too cheaply.

One banker said that, in his view, Eastern Europe is not the place for speculative or passive investors, whatever the attractions of getting in on the ground floor. He points out that many of these companies need not only capital but also technology and managerial skills and investors cannot expect any short-term returns.

Anthony Croxon, company secretary of the Polish Investment Company, which is advising on a number of privatizations, echoes that view. "We're trying to structure things so that we can attract foreign enterprises which can contribute expertise as well as money. Poland is a long way from being suitable for Aunt Agatha."

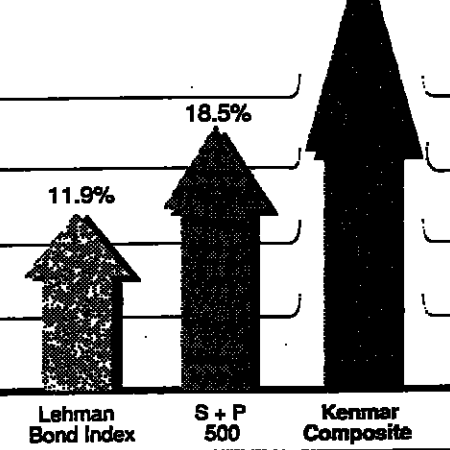
For those willing to wade in, there is still a vast array of pitfalls. As many of the funds set up to invest in Eastern Europe have found, simply identifying suitable investments can be immensely difficult. Most companies are now operating with antiquated equipment, along uncommercial lines, in an environment that lacks a fully developed infrastructure.

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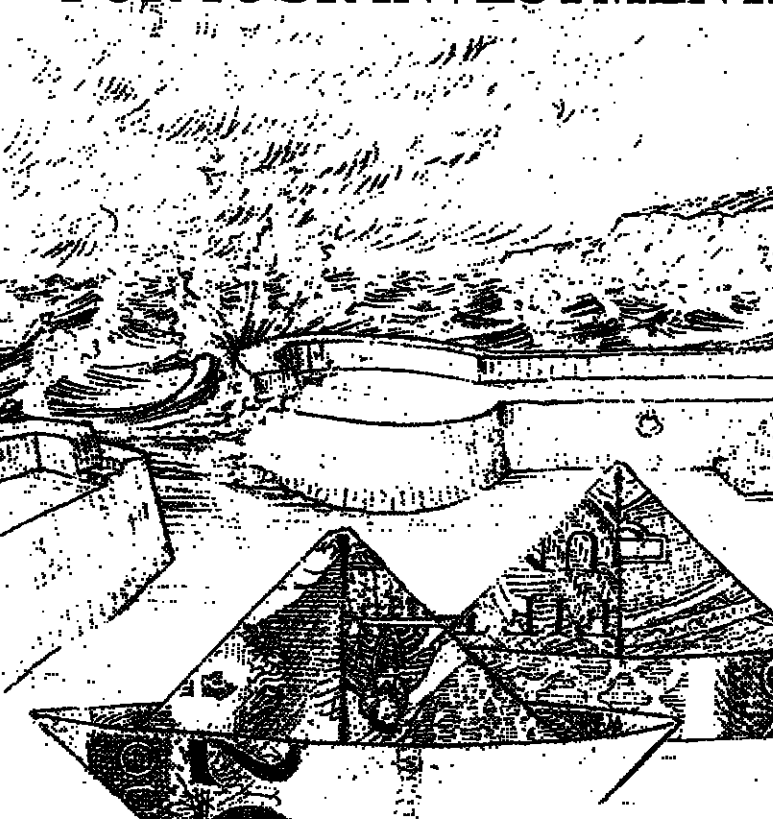
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## SPORTS

## Penguins One Away After Blitzing Stars

By Dave Sell

Washington Post Service

PITTSBURGH — Talent often rises to the top and the Pittsburgh Penguins have tapped into their abundant reserves to move within a game of the summit of the National Hockey League.

With Mario Lemieux getting a goal and two assists, the favored Penguins beat the Minnesota North Stars, 6-4, on Thursday night to take a 3-2 lead in the best-of-seven Stanley Cup finals.

The sellout crowd of 16,164 at the Civic Arena may have seen its

## STANLEY CUP FINALS

team for the last time this season. The Penguins can wrap up the series Saturday night at the Met Center in Bloomington, Minnesota. Should they stumble, the seventh game would return here on Tuesday.

"You can see the end," Pittsburgh's coach, Bob Johnson, said earlier. "There aren't many hurdles left. We're down to winning 120 minutes of hockey."

The Penguins blitzed the North Stars in the first 20 minutes on Thursday night, scoring four times before the visitors could muster a goal. Lemieux scored first, followed by Kevin Stevens, and then Mark Recchi put two past Jon Casey, the Minnesota goalie.

It was 4-1 after the first period and Pittsburgh's goalie, Tom Barraso, did not come out for the second period because of what the team said was a slightly pulled groin muscle.

There was no word on whether Barraso would be able to play Saturday. Frank Pietrangolo, who filled in for him earlier in the play-off, played the last two periods.

If the Penguins clearly won the first period, they struggled to hold

the lead in the next two. Neal Broten scored for Minnesota short-handed at the end of the first and Dave Gagner added another short-handed goal early in the second.

Ron Francis pushed the Pittsburgh lead to 5-2 after two, but then Ulf Dahlen and Gagner scored to cut the lead to 5-4 with 12:18 left. With 1:39 left in the third period, Troy Loney scored for Pittsburgh.

The Penguins essentially won the fourth game of the finals by scoring three times in the first 2:58 of the first period. That set a record for earliest three goals in a Stanley Cup final by more than seven minutes. On Thursday, the Penguins were not as quick, but they were still lethal.

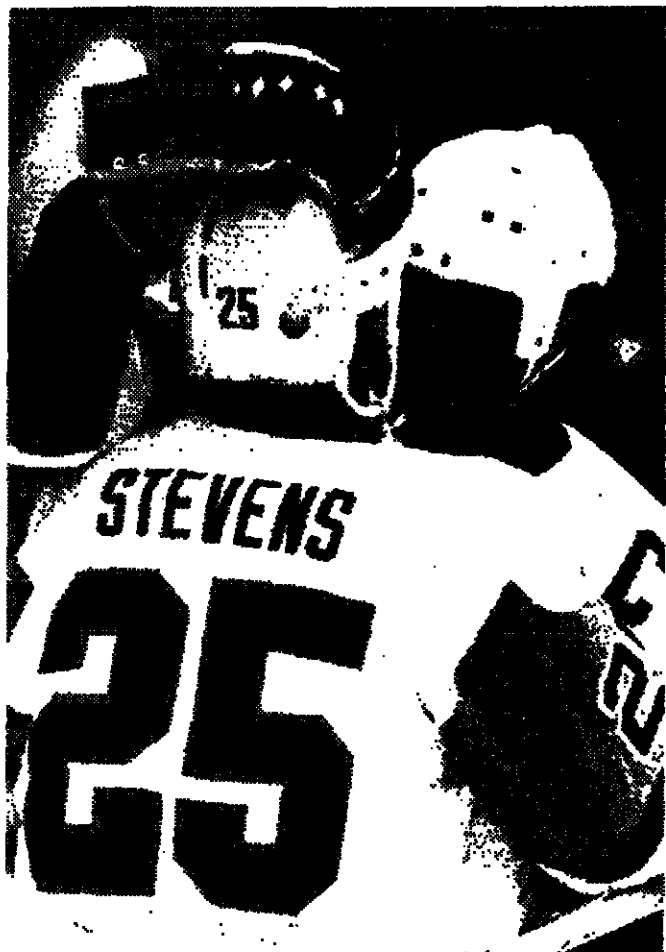
Brian Glynn went off for cross-checking Lemieux with 3:38 gone in the game, giving the Penguins their first power play. Jon Casey made a great glove save on Recchi, but he was not so fortunate about a minute later.

Murphy fired a slap shot that missed the mark by several feet. But Lemieux jumped to the puck, collecting it behind the goal. Using his incredible reach, he shipped the puck around the post for a 1-0 lead 5:36 into the game.

The North Stars had a power play less than two minutes later, but were as threatening as a lamb. It proved to be costly, because the game quickly became one of keeping pace and the North Stars were unable to do so.

Mark Timony went off for hooking with 10:06 left and the Penguins struck again. From just outside his blue line, Paul Coffey tried to hit Stevens ahead of the pack at the Minnesota blue line. The pass missed the mark and icing would have been called if the North Stars had touched the puck first.

Their problem was that they did not. The puck struck the boards and came out into the slot. Stevens beat Jim Johnson to it and put a shot past Casey for his 15th playoff goal and a 2-0 lead with 9:52 remaining.



Kevin Stevens first got a goal, then a hug from Mario Lemieux.

pass out in front of Recchi, who lifted a backhand over Casey's short-side shoulder for a 3-0 lead with 8:15 left.

Minnesota's coach, Bob Gainey, called time. Instead, he probably should have called a cab, because the Pittsburgh offense was not finished.

Casey stopped Lemieux's shot, but the puck came to rest about 15 feet (4.5 meters) from the net. Recchi shook off a check and snapped a shot over Casey's shoulder for a 4-0 lead with 6:19 left.

## Despite 20-Stitch Fall, Cartwright Looks Set for Game 3

United Press International

CHICAGO — Center Bill Cartwright, the Chicago Bulls' only starter who appeared not to get banged up in the second game of the National Basketball Association's Eastern Conference finals, has taken a hard fall at practice that resulted in 20 stitches to his forehead.

Cartwright was pursuing backup Will Perdue, who was taking off on a breakaway in the practice session on Thursday. Cartwright apparently attempted to intercept the outlet pass,

somehow got his feet tangled and smacked his face on the floor.

He was taken to a doctor's office, where he received 20 stitches above the right eye. He was expected to be able to play in the third game of the series against the Detroit Pistons, set for Saturday in suburban Detroit. The Bulls led the best-of-seven series 2-0.

Teammate John Paxson said it appeared as though Cartwright got his feet tangled with

Perdue. Perdue has the biggest feet in the NBA, size 22-AAAA.

Guard Michael Jordan skipped Thursday's practice and spent the session in the trainer's room, receiving treatment for his sore knees. Jordan, however, has said he will not sit out any games.

In the other NBA playoff series, the Los Angeles Lakers and Portland Trail Blazers are tied at 1-1. They were to play Friday night in Los Angeles.

## Two Other Sides of Sports:

For U.S. College and Professional Athletes, Closet Doors Stay Firmly Shut

By Robert Lipsyte

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The locker room has closets of its own, deep and dark and crowded.

"We've been inundated with the names of famous athletes people want to 'out,'" says Gabriel Rotello, editor in chief of Outweek, a gay and lesbian news weekly. "I think the proportion of gay men and lesbians who are pro athletes is higher than their proportion in the mainstream population. Overcompensating, I guess. In golf and tennis, maybe 50 percent."

"More like 90 percent when I was still playing," laughs Lynn Greer of Columbus, Ohio, a lesbian who was on the pro golf tour from 1978 to 1982.

While 90 seems a high percentage, there was no question that the men who wanted to make money from the women's tour were concerned about its lesbian image, a concern that's now pervasive throughout women's sports.

"The real panic is in women's intercollegiate sports," says Arlene Gorton, an associate athletic director at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. "Athletic departments don't even like to run workshops on sexual and gender issues, they think it will be used against them in recruiting. There's homophobia, of course, but I think it's basically a power issue, another way of controlling women. Especially now that there is money in women's sports."

Homosexuality and bisexuality in American sports have usually been treated as rare outbreaks, despite a roster that includes Babe Didrikson, the founder of the women's golf tour; the tennis champion, Billie Jean King; the Olympic gold medal swimmer Bruce Hayes; Pat Griffin, a lesbian who has coached in high school and college and now teaches physical education at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst; and the Olympic gold medal swimmer Bruce Hayes. At Amherst, Griffin believes that gay male athletes are not as challenging to mainstream gender roles as are lesbians.

"It goes to the heart of the struggle against sexism," says Griffin.

## In Willhite's Victory Over Alcoholism, Baseball Gets Credit for a Save

By Dave Anderson

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A rookie left-hander with the Dodgers in 1963, he earned a World Series ring. But by the end of the 1967 season, his major league career was over.

"I was in two other World Series with the Dodgers, but I don't remember them," Nick Willhite was saying now. "When you're half-loaded, you don't know if you'll be able to perform."

For 30 years he drank too much. After three divorces, he was without a job, almost without a family. His six children were scattered. His grandchildren shied away from him.

"There were times," he said, "when I didn't even know my grandchildren were around." On Oct. 14, 1989, he awoke in a snore. The World Series would open later that day but Nick Willhite's world was closing. He was living in Salt Lake City in a two-room apartment, which he remembers as "a filthy little hole."

Then 48, he knew his drinking had cost him farm-system jobs with the Kansas City Royals, Milwaukee Brewers and the Yankees. "I hadn't made up my mind to commit suicide, but that's how I was thinking," he said. "I had no money, no car, no nothing. I

went to my son Monte's office to call some people, figuring I'd never see them again."

Thumbing through his address book to the W's, he phoned his parents. No answer. The next number was that of Stan Williams, now the Cincinnati Reds' pitching coach and once his Dodgers teammate.

"Promise me you won't do anything crazy," Williams said. "You'll be hearing from me at BAT."

Two days later, Willhite was on his way to entering an alcohol-abuse rehabilitation center in Fort Collins, Colorado.

"I literally owe my life to BAT," Willhite said of the Baseball Assistance Team.

Based in the baseball commissioner's office in New York, BAT is the other side of baseball's big money. If a former ballplayer, a ballplayer's widow or anybody in the baseball family needs help, BAT is there.

Almost all those helped by BAT have preferred anonymity. But hoping to help others, Willhite told his story, which began in 1959 when he had his first beer at age 18 upon returning from his first season in the Dodge farm system.

Despite his drinking, Willhite made the

Dodgers at age 22, a left-hander with a silky motion that baffled left-handed hitters.

"If he had Bill White to pitch to all the time," White, the current National League president, recalled, "he'd have never lost a game."

After the 1964 season the Dodgers traded him to the Washington Senators, then reacquired him in 1965. After finishing with the Angels and the Mets, he had a 6-12 career record. He also had a reputation for late hours and late arrivals at the ballpark, a reputation that followed him as a minor league pitching instructor.

"I blew jobs. I'm not blaming anybody but myself," he said. "I bottomed out after my last divorce."

Shortly after Willhite returned to Salt Lake City following his 30-day rehabilitation, another familiar baseball name, Herman Franks, helped him find his own place. Now he's studying to be a drug-addiction counselor.

Nick Willhite also has his family back. "My kids talk to me now," he said with a soft laugh. "My grandchildren even want to sit on my lap."

## BOOKS

## I REMEMBER BALANCHINE: Recollections of the Ballet Master by Those Who Knew Him

By Francis Mason. 604 pages. \$25. Doubleday, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10103.

Reviewed by Mindy Aloff

THIS book of more than 600 pages is also a page-turner. In large part, it consists of what seem to be oral histories. Of the 85 chapters, 83 are edited transcripts of interviews that Francis Mason conducted with George Balanchine's dancers, artistic collaborators and institutional colleagues after Balanchine's death in 1983 at the age of 79. Many of the interviews have substantial — even new — things to say; many of their anecdotes are fresh as well.

The book also contains two memorable literary entries. One is a 1933 letter from Lincoln Kirstein to his friend, A. Everett Austin Jr., in which Kirstein pours forth his dreams of an American ballet company and school, made up of a fully integrated student population and led by several brilliant young Russian émigrés. The other piece is a splendid, monograph-length essay from 1976 by the Soviet dance historian Yuri Slepkinsky on Balanchine's youth and coming-of-age amid the artistic fervor and social chaos of post-revolutionary Russia.

An anthology of reminiscences invites

browsing; you will get the most out of this one, however, if you read it straight through. The entries are arranged in rough chronological order, according to when in Balanchine's life the memoirist entered the picture. Taken together, this is the most wide-ranging, most informative, most amusing, most consistently provocative, and most candid portrait of its subject now in print.

And the most maddening, as far as history is concerned. Although the interviews make for lively reading, one doesn't know quite how far to trust their details, or even if one trusts them as fact, how to interpret their significance.

Part of the problem is the very aspect that gives the book its grace: the discreet presence of its editor, Francis Mason. Mason certainly has the credentials to inspire confidence. He is the current editor of Ballet Review, the journal of thought and opinion founded by Arlene Croce; he has been writing about dance for more than 30 years, and he worked closely as an interviewer with Balanchine himself on several editions of the book now called "Balanchine's Complete Stories of the Great Ballets."

And yet, it's difficult not to wonder about the circumstances in which the interviews were done. Were they portions of panels or one-on-one sessions? How heavily did Mason edit them? Did the oral authors edit them also?

So a reader of "I Remember Balanchine" must trust the tales, and amazing some of them are. For those whose lives have been imprinted with Balanchine's

work, it would be worth seeking this out just for the interview with choreographer John Clifford, which contains much of interest, including what is possibly the most fascinating anecdote of the book. Clifford had showed Balanchine that the major choreography of the second movement adagio to Bizet's "Symphony in C" could be exactly overlaid on another piece of music without adjustment. Balanchine turned red. "It was one of the only times I ever saw him really get mad," Clifford recounts. "He said, 'That's not fair.'"

"He said, 'That's not fair because the Bizet second movement is supposed to be the dance of the moon.' I asked, 'What's the moon got to do with it?' He said, 'Well, the grand jeté where [the ballerina] gets carried back and forth at one point are supposed to be the moon going across the sky.'"

Could it be that a Balanchine ballet of the just-dance-and-trust-the-story variety has as much personal meaning and symbolic logic embedded in it as a choreodrama by Martha Graham? "I remember Balanchine" stimulates this sort of thinking, for which one commends it, even as the question floats heavenward and gently dissolves, admitting no more possibility of answer than a cloud.

Mindy Aloff is writing a book of essays about the nature of dance ideas and editing "The Oxford Book of Ballet and Dance Anecdotes." She wrote this for The Washington Post.

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

MANY players seize on a victim, show them a deal on a piece of paper and offer the challenge: "Do you want to play or defend?" The diagrammed deal provides some good ammunition for the challenger. As the victim, do you choose to play or defend six clubs after a heart lead?

North-South had done well to reach six clubs, the only playable slam contract. South played the heart ten from dummy and ruffed the queen. She crossed to the spade king, led the heart ten from dummy and ruffed low. West rose to the occasion by refusing to overruff, and the slam could not be made. There was then no way for South to make use of dummy's hearts.

If West overruffed, South would win any return, drawn trumps ending in dummy, and established the hearts with a ruff. Dummy would have been left with the last trump and four heart winners.

Could South have done better? Yes, by winning the first trick with the heart ace. She should then ruff a heart low, and again West would have to refuse to overruff. The ace of clubs and a club queen would allow another heart ruff.

Again West would have to refuse to overruff, but it would not help. South would ruff a diamond and play another heart, discarding a loser. He would then be in a position to win any return in his hand, draw the missing trump and use the spade king as an entry to score heart winners. This line does not quite work if the heart ace is not taken immediately. Conclusion: You should choose to play six clubs after a heart lead.

NORTH (D)

♠ 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

♥ A J 10 8 7 5 4

♦ A Q 7 2

♣ A 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

EAST

♠ K 6 5 4 3 2

♥ K Q J 10 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

♦ K 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

♣ K J 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

SOUTH

♠ A 7 6 2

♥ A 8 6 5 4 3 2

♦ A 8 6 5 4 3 2

♣ A 8 6 5 4 3 2

Both sides were vulnerable. The

bid:

1000

1100

1200

1300

1400

1500

1600

1700

1800

1900

2000

2100

2200

2300

2400

2500

2600

2700

2800

2900

3000

3100

3200

3300

3400

3500

3600

3700

3800

3900

4000

4100

4200

4300

4400

4500

4600

4700

4800

4900

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5200

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10100

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10600

10700

10800

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11000

11100

11200

11300

11400

11500

11600

11700

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11900

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13900

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14100







